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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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9 August 1985

EAST EUROPE REPORT

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SFRY HISTORIOGRAPHY'S 'ERRONEOUS TREATMENT' OF KOSOVO

AU051145 Tirana ATA in English 1000 GMT 5 Jul 85

["On the Demographic and Ethnic Situation of the Albanian Territories in the Middle Ages--Article of the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT--ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, 5 Jul (ATA)--Under the above title, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries an article written by Selami Pulaha, doctor of historical sciences, which says among the other things: The Albanians came on the eve of the Ottoman invasion in the 15th century as a nation which had been formed historically many centuries ago on the basis of the very ancient Illyrian element, on the basis of the unification of the language and territory, cultural co-existence, having the same economic-social level of development with that of the neighbouring Balkan peoples.

The human potential of the Albanian territories was limited in the 15-17th centuries. The regions with an agricultural-livestock economy had a denser population, while the mountainous regions of northern Albania and of Kurvelesh in the south, with mainly livestock economies, had few inhabitants. This small human potential of theirs shows that the demographic role of the highlands had been unimportant, that possibilities did not exist there to develop the great inter-regional movements of the population. The movements from these zones affected only a small number of people. The bourgeois-revisionist historiography claims that the highlands of northern Albania have been hearths of forming the Albanian nationalities, zones from where the Albanians have allegedly immigrated and have populated their own territories of central and southern Albania and Kosovo. These theses without scientific grounds are a result of not knowing the true demographic situation and the erroneous methodical treatment of the historical data by their authors.

This erroneous treatment lies at the basis of the Yugoslav historiography according to which the Albanians have allegedly arrived in Kosovo from the highlands of northern Albania following the so-called major movements of the Serbs at the end of the 17th century on the occasion of the Austrian-Ottoman war.

The Cadastral registers provide us with information which smash once and for all the myth of the permanent Serb character of the population in Kosovo,

on the identification of Kosovo "as old Serbia" testifying to the presence of the autochthonous Albanian population there, on a mass and predominant scale as against a Slav minority settled there chiefly during the Serb domination in the 13-15th century as employees of the state apparatus, clergymen, military officials, merchants, etc.

With the Ottoman occupation there was eliminated as an independent political and economic force, the previous feudal class, most of which was Serb and it was replaced by the new feudal Ottoman class. In this 15th century it was made up mainly of Turkish elements but in the 16 and 17th centuries it was filled with Albanian ethnic elements, just as in the other Albanian territories. This eliminated in the greatest part that ethnic difference that had existed in a marked way till the 15th century between the feudal class, ethnically foreign the Serb one, and on the other hand, the population made up almost completely by the low Albanian popular strata.

New phenomena of the 15th and 17th centuries such as the collapse of the Serbian economic and political religious domination and of Islamism weakened or eliminated the conditions which had previously favored the Slavism of the Albanians. In these conditions, the common orthodox religion and the cultural relations between the Albanians and the Serbs, once ruling ones, did not operate with the intensity of the period prior to the 15th century with regard to the Slav cultural-ethnic assimilation of the Albanians. Islamism opposed the process of Slavisation and distanced further the Albanians from the Slavs, although it created favourable conditions for the cultural and political Ottoman assimilation of the Albanians. But historic conditions, with the big armed conflicts of the Albanians with the Ottomans, did not allow this process to go ahead. Both Islamism and the orthodox religion during the Serb domination failed to assimilate the Albanians because, here they came up sharply against a compact population with national features defined centuries earlier. With its resistance it preserved intact its own language, customs and habits, its own individuality as a constituent part of the Albanian nationality.

The lack of "demographic explosions" from the northern highland and the presence of the Albanians as a dominating population in Kosovo during the 15th and 16th centuries constitute arguments which smash the myth on the filling of this region with Albanians following the so-called large-scale movements of the Serbs towards the end of the 17th century. The documents of this phase especially of the command of the Austrian armies that entered Kosovo on the eve of the so-called movements (1689-1690) uncovers its falsity because it testifies that Kosovo was inhabited by the Albanians prior to the beginning of the uprising (1689).

The movement of the elements from the Serbian minority of Kosovo, made on occasion of the withdrawal of the Austrian armies, is deliberately inflated by the historiography which is interested to give such dimensions as to explain the "deserbisation" of this territory. Besides, it should be borne in mind that on this occasion Albanian insurgents too, whose last traces are still noticed in Slovenia, were withdrawn.

At no period during the Ottoman domination did Kosovo remain a territory void of people, a vacuum.

Recently in a series of works by the Yugoslav historians and in the first place Serbs, in the daily Yugoslav press as well, the above mentioned theses; [words indistinct] Serb nationalist historiography of the 19th century are still being propagated. History has proved the role which these so-called historic arguments have played in the service of the big Serb chauvinism to justify the annexation of the Albanian territory and following occupation, to negate the legitimate national rights of the Albanians.

But these dogmas fail to respond to the historical truth which is revealed by the latest results of the science of history and not only Albania, but international history including scientists from Yugoslavia too.

Such dogmas are in profound contradiction to the results of science. Not only this, they become dangerous when they are preserved as inviolable and compulsory for historic treatment, and, as myths, they define the policy.

CSO: 2020/174

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

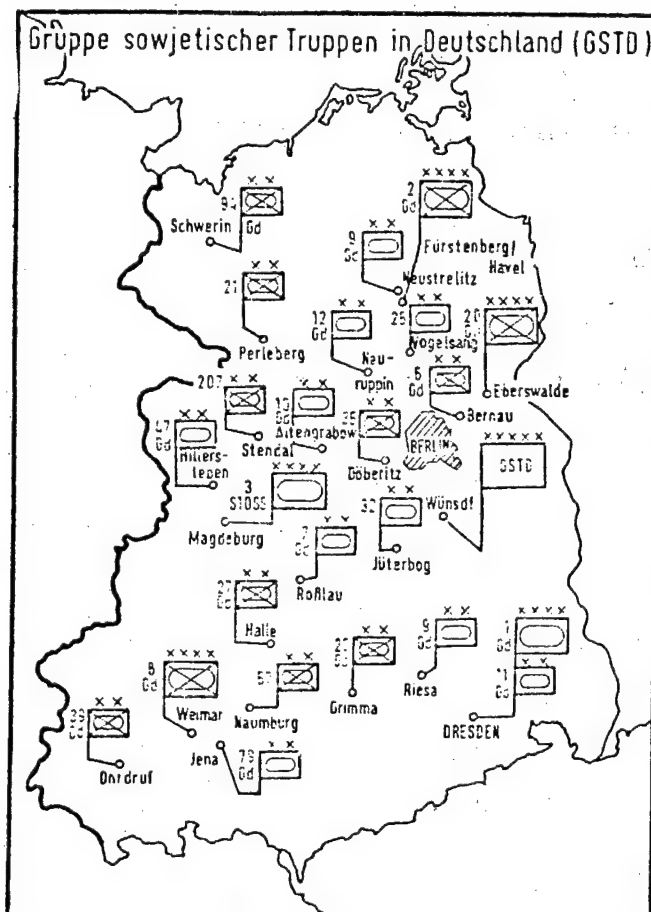
REDESIGNATION NOTED FOR SOVIET FORCES IN GERMANY

Frankfurt/Main SOLDAT UND TECHNIK in German No 6, Jun 85 p 369

[Article: "After 40 Years 'in Germany'"]

[Text] After 40 years "in Germany," the GDR tried to change the designation of the Soviet troops stationed in its territory according to its own ideas. Beginning in March 1954 (the uprising of 17 June 1953 had been repressed and the Soviets again had their occupation zone firmly in hand), the grouping of forces initially designated as "Group of the Soviet Occupation Troops in Germany" (GSBD) was designated "Group of the Soviet Troops in Germany" (GSTD). Since the 1970's, the designation, unchanged in Russian, "Grupa Sovetskikh Voysk v Germanii" has been translated in the GDR with "Group of the Soviet Armed Forces in Germany" (GSSD). There is no sound reason for this changed translation, for the Russian word "voyska" can be translated as either "troops" or "armed forces." In the sense of "troops," it is, for example, translated with the terms "tank troops," "air-defense troops," or "strategic rocket troops." The Bundeswehr has therefore not carried through this GDR-internal and ultimately meaningless redesignation and has stayed with the established designation "GSTD." In mid-April of this year, a politically significant new designation suddenly appeared in the central SED press organ NEUES DEUTSCHLAND and in the magazine VOLKSARMEE, the official press organ of the GDR Ministry of National Defense: one now spoke of the "Group of the Soviet Armed Forces in the GDR"! In the view of the GDR, the elimination of the designation "Germany" was definitely desirable, for Germany has, in its view of the world, forever ceased to exist. But the name change noted by the press of the FRG as well took place only in the publications of the GDR. In KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, the official press organ of the USSR Ministry of Defense, they continued to speak dispassionately of the "Group of the Soviet Troops in Germany" in accordance with international treaties and Soviet status thinking. And just a few days later, the manipulation of names by the press of the GDR was publicly corrected by the man who should know best. In his address on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the start of the "Berlin Operation" of the Soviet Army in the "Seelow Heights," the Soviet bridgehead on the west bank of the Oder, Army Gen

Mikhail Zaytsev, commander in chief of the group, made it quite unmistakably clear what the largest Soviet grouping of forces outside the USSR and under his command is called. At the very beginning of his speech, he spoke repeatedly in rapid succession about the "Group of Soviet Troops (Armed Forces) in Germany," that is, about the GSTD or GSSD. VOLKSARMEE, the magazine of the National People's Army, which could not go without mentioning the spectacle in the Seelow Heights, had no other choice in its reporting than to name the commanding general and his group in accordance with the Soviet self-understanding. Thus the designation "Group of the Soviet Troops in the GDR" may well "be dead."



Group of Soviet Troops in Germany (GSTD)

Our sketch shows the disposition of the five armies of the group and of the 10 tank and motorized divisions attached to them, which have a total of more than 7,000 battle tanks and include about 380,000 men. Also attached to the group are the air forces, which have a strength of 20,000 to 40,000 men and about 1,800 aircraft.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

YUGOSLAV PUNISHED FOR CONDOLENCES ON HOXHA--Tirana, 9 Jul (ATA)--The newspaper RILINOJA of Kosova carried on July 3, 1985, a report entitled: "60 Days of Imprisonment for a Letter of Condolences Sent to Albania". It said that "Krist Gojan, born in 1966, from the village on Jagode, Klina Commune, was sentenced to 60 days of imprisonment by the Offence Court of Klina. As we were informed by Ranko Donciqi, the chairman of this court, in May this year the said person wrote a letter to the Presidium of the People's Assembly of Albania, through which he wanted to express his condolences on the death of Enver Hoxha. But, with the interference of security organs, the letter, before it could be mailed, was found in the pocket of Bardh Dodaj, to whom Krist had given the letter in order to post it." We remind the readers that the Presidium of the People's Assembly of Albania has received telegrams of condolences on the death of Comrade Enver Hoxha also from the president of the Presidency of the SFRY, as well as by citizens of Albanian nationality in Kosovo and other territories in Yugoslavia, who have sent telegrams of condolences to Albania are being tried and sentenced for this gesture. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 9 Jul 85 AU]

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ALBANIA

LIBERAL, SECTARIAN ATTITUDES OF PARTY MEMBERS ATTACKED

Tirana RRUGA E PARTISE in Albanian Mar 85 pp 45-53

[Article by Palush Semini, Rakip Gjikondi: "That Judgment is Effective which is Supported by the Line, the Principles and the Norms of the Party"]

[Text] The basic party organs and organizations are supported by the line, the principles and the norms of the party in their judgment regarding the activities and attitudes of communists, just as they are with respect to all problems. This has constituted and continues to constitute the basic criterion for their correct judgments, decisions and acts.

The 9th Plenum of the party's Central Committee, together with its fundamental requirements regarding further growth in the effectiveness of the work of the party and its levers, also stimulates and assists in further increasing the effectiveness of those party activities which concern the judgment of communists' attitudes to work and life, as well as to the execution of requirements and tasks which are entrusted to them by virtue of their being in the party. The correctness of judgments given, decisions made and actions taken by the basic party organs and organizations are evaluated by them in terms of how they correspond with the principles and norms of the party and how they serve to put its line into practice and to strengthen their leading, organizational and mobilizing work.

From the controls and studies that have been made, it appears that the basic party organs and organizations, in both the civilian and military areas, bear well in mind and correctly execute the organizational rules in cases of examination of the attitudes of communists. The communists who are made the object of criticism are heard with attention and the judgment and discussion are full, complete and mature. As a result, precise conclusions are arrived at, the responsibility is well defined and the decisions that are made are discussed and approved in the presence of the interested parties. Such a practice, which prevails during the judgment of errors on the part of communists, as well as in the determination of measures taken in their regard, makes the measures taken generally correct ones. This is illustrated by the fact, among others, that about 91 percent of the decisions of party committees which were appealed by the communists in the party's Central Commission of Control and Auditing during 1984 and reviewed by it were found to be well-founded and just. Such a party-spirited attitude and judgment serves not only communists who have erred, so that

they should be persuaded of their guilt and should work to correct their mistaken opinions and attitudes, but also other communists, so that they should learn a lesson and not fall into error.

Nevertheless, the fact that 9 percent of the decisions of the party committees which were appealed during this period have been expanded or mitigated by the party's Central Commission of Control and Auditing indicates that some basic party organizations and organs must further increase their attention with regard to making more well-founded judgments and decisions. The fact that the party committees of districts, raions and military units have correctly changed many of their decisions is also evidence of some superficial and unconsidered judgments by the basic party organizations. But these rectifications on the part of the party committees or by the Central Commission of Control and Auditing have been made after re-examination of the facts, on the basis of difficulties expressed by the communists who have appealed and at a time when these difficulties could be evaluated with greater attention than at the beginning, by both the basic organizations and the party committees.

Only by basing them at all times on the line, the principles and the norms of the party are superficial, hurried, liberal or sectarian judgments, decisions and actions avoided. Since the basic party organizations and organs have operated on the basis of this line and these principles and norms, their judgments and decisions regarding communists who have erred have generally been well-founded and just. Especially striking is the fact that, as a rule, the party does a great deal of explanatory, persuasive and corrective work with communists who err. But there have also been communists who, even though they have been criticized and helped, have not corrected themselves. In these cases, disciplinary educational measures have been taken against them, while for serious faults which do not correspond with being in the party and which damage its interests and those of the people, there has been expulsion from its ranks.

In this area of activity, which serves to strengthen the ranks of the party and the moral and political image of communists, the basic party organs and organizations have combatted and continue to combat liberal and opportunistic attitudes and actions, as well as rigid and sectarian attitudes and actions.

But in the activities of some basic organizations or some party committees, cases have been observed where, in the course of judgement of the errors of communists, such as non-fulfillment of tasks, failing in their vanguard role and non-observance of the requirements of the party statutes and the laws of the state, concessions have been made and liberal views supported.

Thus, for example, in the agricultural cooperative specializing in livestock in Martanesh, in Mat District, where perceptible deficits were created last year in the realization of tasks of the livestock products plan, as well as where considerable deaths among goats and kids occurred, primarily as a result of subjective failures, the party organs and basic organizations judged this situation lightly and in a liberal manner and did not properly expose the responsibility of the communists. For example, the secretary

of the party bureau of this cooperative, who had been misinforming the party committee about the situation, instead of being made accountable for his acts, was sent as party bureau secretary to another, even larger, agricultural cooperative.

A liberal attitude of the same type has also been taken with regard to a communist who was formerly responsible for a sector in the Enterprise for Oil Exploitation in Patos, in Fier District. For failure to execute the tasks of the plan in the sector that he managed, the basic organization punished him with a notation on his registration card. But immediately afterward, this communist committed an even more serious fault: he gave fictitious and false figures regarding the realization of oil production in the sector, for which the party organization correctly proposed that he be dismissed from his position of responsibility. Surprisingly, however, less than a month later he began to be promoted again to a responsible position.

It is clear that such attitudes are in opposition to the line, the principles and the norms of the party and damage its interests and those of the people. For that reason, the Central Control and Auditing Commission in both of these cases, summoned the communists who had erred and made them accountable for their acts, while it required the party committees of the respective districts to re-examine their attitudes and profit by their lessons and duties in the future.

Liberal attitudes are observed especially in some cases of violations of party discipline or transgressions of the most elementary requirements of the party statutes. There are, for example, communists who do not pay their party membership dues in time and in accordance with their income, or there are secretaries who do not pay these dues according to the regulations, as was the case in the basic party organization of the vegetable farm in the agricultural cooperative of Bradashesh in Elbasan District, and elsewhere. This happens because there is not constant recollection of Comrade Enver Hoxha's teaching: "That communist who neglects any party duty, whether it is paying dues, participating in basic organization meetings, respecting the times of meetings or accomplishing any special party task...in that organization where the party member works, has violated the discipline of the party." (Enver Hoxha, "Vepra" [Works], vol. 6, p. 42.) Since such an evaluation of party discipline does not exist, there are communists who do not devote the proper attention to the tasks they are assigned and who absent themselves without good reason from basic organization meetings where they must raise problems, assume duties and report on their execution. Absences of this nature occur especially in some basic party organizations of administrations, in ministries and in central institutions, as well as in some military headquarters, and are justified in most cases by "reason of duty." But there are also absences in some production party organizations. In Tirana District, for example, 5-6 communists absented themselves from several meetings of the organization of the shoe factory, while 6-8 communists absented themselves from several meetings at the ready-made products factory.

These absences occur because of indifference. But Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that "This indifference regarding party meetings also indicates,

in the final analysis, an indifference to and lack of concern for the execution of the party line and the realization of party tasks." Comrade Enver instructs that "We must always bear in mind the teachings of the great Lenin that every party member is answerable for every other member. But for the party to take responsibility for every member, it is imperative that it should have gained control over the activities and work of each of its members." (Enver Hoxha, "Vepra", vol. 6, p. 41.) The basic organizations must therefore not support liberal attitudes toward these manifestations.

Educational, rather than punitive, work occupies the chief place in the work method of the party organizations and organs with the communists. But some party organizations occasionally do not maintain this proportion and justify this by asserting that punitive measures have, in themselves, an educational role. But admitting that there is truth in this justification, at the same time it must always be kept very much in mind that punishment, especially when it is strict--and all the more when it is not well reasoned--creates difficulties for the communist. We emphasize this because, as practice also shows, there are cases treated with punitive measures--up to expulsion from the party--without regard for the educational and persuasive phase and without giving the necessary arguments--a situation which does not serve to improve the party's work as a whole. Whoever thinks that without taking punitive measures, faults are not corrected and work is not regulated, seeks, in essence, to have educational work, criticism and self-criticism replaced by administrative measures.

Although the party has always condemned these rigid and sectarian views, they are raising their head again. Some time ago, in the party organization of Zall-Bastar, Tirana District, a communist was punished by party measures not because he had committed some fault, but because he had been dismissed from his position of brigade leader due to inability. In the party organization of Klllojke, in this same district, a communist was punished because he had not participated in a basic organization meeting, even though there was a reason for this.

These judgments and decisions of a sectarian nature also occur where and when no account is taken of the instruction of the party's Central Committee, according to which punitive measures of an educational character and expulsion from the party are given as sentences according to the degree of faults and errors. Comrade Enver Hoxha's conclusion, therefore, remains topical: "It has not yet occurred that punitive measures are properly utilized according to errors and faults." "You can punish a person," Comrade Enver teaches us, "but you can speak severely to him and not punish him, and he will not forget this all his life."

The party is irreconcilable with those judgments and attitudes which begin from positions of ambition, revenge, intrigues, cliques, kinship and harmful friendship, and which lead to biased and subjective judgments and evaluations of questions.

The basic party organs and organizations have done and continue to do a great deal of work to combat these manifestations and to preserve themselves

from their influence in their judgment and views of communists or when they examine requests for admission to the party. Despite this struggle, continuing tasks remain for the future. The communists and the party organizations must always bear in mind the party's teaching that the question of punitive measures has great political and ideological importance and that they must be taken for matters of great seriousness with a primarily political character, for deviation from the party line and not for the smallest things. Practice indicates that wherever this directive has not been properly kept in mind, there have been unjust judgments and decisions.

Sectarian attitudes in particular are very grave for communists. From the analysis that has been made of such cases, it appears that in maintaining these attitudes, the bad influences of ambition, revenge and intrigue are also exerted: despite the whole struggle made by the party and despite all the achievements that it has had, these are still preserved and appear among some unformed communists. The influence of these foreign manifestations and attitudes on communists reached the point of taking unjust punitive measures and even expulsion from the party in the basic party organization of Bishan, for example, or in the Industrial Construction Enterprise in the Fier District. Among other things, it also appears that these subjective and sectarian views are made more damaging when they are held by communist cadres who, by so-called arguments and by their "patronage," exert a bad influence on other communists as well. Naturally, such cases as these have been criticized and corrected by the party's Central Commission of Control and Revision and by the party committees of districts themselves, and they have called the guilty parties to account. But it must be said that recurrences of sectarian views and judgments and attitudes based on ambition, revenge, careerism, intrigue and slander, which have caused unjust difficulties for some sensible communists in the party, still occur in some party organizations. For that reason they must be combatted and condemned with complete severity.

Equally harmful to the party are liberal attitudes which are held toward communists who err and which proceed from positions of kinship, friendship or clique, positions which lead to political myopia. In the basic party organization of the Kavaje agricultural cooperative in the village of Shtodher, Durres District, a mild judgment was rendered on the responsibility of a communist who, it was learned later - after her admission to the party, had not noted in the party documents that her father had been sentenced to 25 years as a war criminal and afterward, to 13 years as a thief. This leniency occurred because her husband was the secretary of the basic party organization. This and some other cases are evidence of the fact that there are still party members who not only unjustly protect their coteries and kin, but sometimes also bring other communists over to their position, which makes the judgment and decision of the organization mistaken as well.

In the majority of cases, such false attitudes, whether they are of the sectarian or liberal type, are criticized and corrected. Nevertheless, the party committees in districts and in military units must not be satisfied with "regulations." They must have serious concern for the condition of these organizations and take measures to make them sound, because, without

skilled intervention and assistance, these organizations cannot fulfill their leading, educational and mobilizing role for communists and the working masses with respect to the realization of tasks assigned to them by the party.

The basic party organs and organizations must also take into account that in order to make correct judgments and decisions, it is imperative that the judgment and decision should be made after becoming thoroughly acquainted with the real question, arguments and facts which have been rigorously verified and confirmed, as well as taking into account their internal motives, circumstances and consequences. It must be said that these party requirements are generally maintained and continually kept in mind and that they have been and continue to be applied by the communists and the basic party organizations and organs, both civilian and military, and therefore their judgments and decisions on matters concerning communists have been generally correct.

Nevertheless, cases are also encountered where "arguments," "facts" and "proofs" which, in reality, are not true, are found in the motivations of some decisions on the part of basic organizations or even party committees. In a decision of a basic organization which was approved by the party committee of Unit 9001, in connection with the expulsion of a communist from the party, it was said, among other things, that he "was lazy" and "did not participate in discussions at the basic party organization meetings" when, in fact, neither of these allegations was so. According to the protocol, it emerged that out of 18 meetings which were held by this organization during the period under discussion, he had participated in discussions at 12 of them. Similarly, some time ago, in a decision by a basic organization, approved by the party bureau committee of the Fier District, regarding the expulsion of a communist from the party, it was said, among other things, that "he had shown himself to be insincere in his documents because he did not write about his uncle, who had been with Balli [The National Front Kombetar] and had been executed for the crimes he had committed." In fact, his uncle had been shot by the Balli supporters. Such irresponsible and reprehensible attitudes are fallen into by those party organizations or committees which accept or approve, without verification, everything that one or another communist says and, as a result, judge and make decisions in a mistaken manner, supported by unreal facts.

Precise verification of matters that are raised by communists and their guilt or innocence constitutes one of the most important and delicate tasks of the basic organizations and organs of the party, civil and military, and constitutes the major task of those who are assigned to carry out the verification, whether they are secretaries of basic organizations or bureaus of the party, instructors or secretaries of party committees, members of their plenums or of party commissions for control and auditing. They must accomplish this task with great responsibility and precision. Comrade Enver Hoxha, in evaluating the importance of precision in the work of the party, teaches us that "We can accept the fact that something should be done slowly, but it should be done with precision; matters should not be treated superficially." (Enver Hoxha, "Vepra", vol. 38, p. 10.)

Verification and formulation of draft decisions are greatly responsible for the precision of their content, because much of the justice of the judgment depends upon this precision. But in some cases this feeling of responsibility has been lacking and it has happened that unjust decisions have been made which have later been corrected because the "facts" and "arguments" have been overturned - either in their entirety or for the most part. Among other cases, this occurred with a decision by the party bureau committee of Kolonje District, with one by the party aviation committee, with one by the party committee of unit 7166, etc.

It is thus apparent that those who are assigned to verify facts and compile drafts regarding questions of communists should not confine themselves to the easiest variant and take shortcuts, but should listen carefully to the parties involved, make the necessary confrontations, study the documents that exist and investigate thoroughly in order to discover the truth about the guilt or innocence of the communist. In order to separate truth from untruth and justice from injustice, the investigators cannot rely on their personal opinions and convictions, without confronting these with the reality of matters - a point which must always be kept rigorously in mind by the basic organizations and committees of the party as well when they make judgments and decisions on these questions. It is only in this way that the judgments and decisions are guaranteed to be just and effective, while the party is defended from the unworthy elements in its ranks and the party's justice for those who are innocent is restored.

The deepening of facts and arguments is also imperative during the examination of requests for admission to the party. We emphasize this because instances are encountered in practice where organizations do this work without the necessary care and with imprecise documents. This happens when documentation is underevaluated and considered to be something technical and formal, while experience shows that in those cases where such faults and violations have been permitted, individuals have been accepted as candidates for party membership whom it was later necessary to expel because of imprecision of data in documents and for other faults of character. The case of a former communist in Diber District is typical. During the verification of his appeal against expulsion from the party in 1984, it was ascertained that his acceptance as a candidate for party membership was handled by the basic organization of the Peshkopi agricultural cooperative and the party bureau of Diber District in an unstudied manner and in opposition to the requirements of the party statutes and the instructions of the Central Committee. Some of the chief requirements were violated in accepting him. For example, those who recommended him did not know him for three years of work in common, etc. Careless work with documents is connected with several mistaken judgments and decisions on party admission in Fier, Permet, Vlore districts, etc., where it has happened that some party candidates have been expelled 2-3 years after admission and this act has been justified only by admitting that "we made an error when we accepted him as a party candidate."

It is important that lessons should be learned from such cases and that careful work should be done so that they are not repeated. Thus, for example, when the party committees return imprecise and poorly studied

documents to basic organizations, it is necessary that they should also take more of a stand, teach them and raise their responsibility further in connection with this matter, since it concerns the quality of those who are admitted into the party. Lessons must be learned by the party committee of Korce District, which sent various contradictory data on several persons to party committees of Elbasan District and two military units.

It is necessary that when the basic organizations and committees of the party examine requests for admission to the party, they should exercise precision with respect to all the data which concern the person to be admitted and that they should have overall, well-founded knowledge about him - first and foremost, evidence of his personal merits, as required by the party statutes. We emphasize this because there have also been cases, such as those in Tepelene and elsewhere, where admissions to the party have been made simply on the recommendation of one person or another. "The quality of admissions," Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us, "has been and remains the decisive factor in the policy of the party for increasing its ranks." This is guaranteed when the candidate is admitted to the party "on the basis of his own personal merits, his qualities and his abilities." (Enver Hoxha, "Report at the 8th Congress of the AWP", p 82)

Fraternal, friendly judgment of questions regarding communists is another requirement of the party line, principles and norms, which the basic organizations and organs of the party have taken and continue to take into account. This fact explains the great confidence which not only the communists, but also the other workers, have in the justice of judgments of party organizations and organs. As a result of the concern and justice of judgments and decisions by organs and basic organizations of the party, the communists and workers acquire strength and are mobilized for the realization of tasks; their love for the party increases and they strengthen unity around it, with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head.

But there are also cases of disrespect for the principle of fraternalism and friendly discussions on the cases of the greatest maturity, which, when they have been made known, have been severely criticized and measures have been taken to correct them.

In connection with admission to the party, it is stressed, for example, in the party statutes that all communists should judge the request and documents of the person seeking admission to the party and should decide jointly on the request, while the motivation for the decision taken should be approved at a meeting. For this reason, there has been stern criticism of some cases where the basic organization has permitted the sending to the party committee of motivations formulated not at a meeting, but after it, by the secretary or vice-secretary of the organization, a situation which gives them the opportunity to make formulations according to their personal sympathies and antipathies, which, in some cases, even causes the party committee to make an incorrect judgment and a decision which is not well-founded.

No concessions must be made to violations of the principle of fraternalism and friendly discussion of the attitudes of communists. The party gravely

condemns practices such as those of the basic organization of sector no. 1 of the agricultural cooperative of Krume and the party committee bureau of the Kukes District, which did not treat the matter of a communist in a friendly manner and decided to expel her from the party because she had allegedly "wanted to satisfy her whims," when in reality she justly requested only to be transferred to a closer work sector because she had many children. Another attitude in which there was no party spirit at all was held by the organization no. 1 of the Tirana NTUS [acronym unknown] toward a communist against whom party measures were taken because when it was proposed that 6 communists should be punished for matters raised against them in an anonymous letter, she expressed her opinion that "we should not hurry," "the accused communists should be heard" and "the writer of the letter should be found," after which we should decide. In fact, as emerged later, the accusations raised against them in the anonymous letter did not hold up.

It is apparent from these and some other cases that in such instances, communists must not be satisfied only with the material presented or with what the secretary of the basic organization says, but should also listen carefully to the interested party and afterward should discuss and express their opinions at length. When it is judged whether a communist should or should not be in the party, his overall activities must be taken into account, including the mistakes he has made or the errors he has committed, and matters should not be viewed in a biased manner, because it sometimes happens that only the positive sides are brought out when leniency is intended or only the negative sides when severity is intended - a situation which is neither just nor comradely because in these cases the level of measures will not be convinced or corrected.

Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches us that "The bringing of people to account by the communists is an imperative necessity, but...it must be in a revolutionary spirit and not meanly, for minor, apolitical matters, not in an inquisitional form; there should be no slander and things which do not exist should not be created; there should be no personal, vindictive attacks." He also teaches us that "It is always necessary to proceed on the basis of the principle, 'trust and control'; love and respect every person who works and struggles on the path of the party correctly, untiringly, consistently and justly, but do not permit a lack of criticism and correction for anyone who errs, whoever it may be; do not hesitate to unmask and punish severely and mercilessly anyone who enters on the path of enmity - against the party, against the people and against socialism." (Enver Hoxha, "Rapporte e Fjalime 1967-1968" [Reports and Speeches, 1967-68], pp 8 and 22.)

12249

CSO: 2100/43

ALBANIA

DEFENSE MINISTER ADDRESSES ARMY DAY RALLY

AU111146 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 11 Jul 85

[Text] Tirana, 11 Jul (ATA)--Forty-two years were completed since July 10, 1984, when in the Labinot of important historic events, the general staff was created, which has gone down in the history of the Albanian people as the day of the creation of our people's army, monumental deed of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. Thousands of cooperativists, veterans, and patriots, militarymen, pioneers of Enver from the whole district of Elbasan, gathered near the museum house in Labinot-mal.

To take part in this celebration came also the alternate member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and minister of people's defense, Comrade Prokop Murra, leading cadres of the party and state power in the district, etc.

In token of profound veneration and respect for the life and brilliant deed of the beloved leader of the party and people, wreaths were laid on the bust of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the legendary commander of the anti-fascist national liberation war, on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the party committee, the executive committee of the district people's council and mass organizations of the district.

Amidst the applause of those present, Comrade Prokop Murra took the floor. He greeted on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania and the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Ramiz Alia personally.

Forty-two years ago, on July 19, 1943, Comrade Prokop Murra said among the other things, in this Labinot house and in the fold of the people of these regions, the general national liberation council, on the proposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, elected the general staff.

The Albanian people did not wait for the freedom as a present from the others. Conscious of the fact that freedom is not donated, but is won through blood and sacrifices, upon the militant call of the party, they rose all on foot in struggle and arms in hands decided upon the destiny of the homeland and their future.

With the creation of the general staff, the armed struggle of the Albanian people entered a new stage of development and organization. The party with Comrade Enver Hoxha at the head, realized the correct leadership of the national liberation war, elaborated its strategy and tactics, worked out the program and organized gradually the partisan units commanded by the general staff of the army.

To Comrade Enver Hoxha, as secretary general of the party, as commissar and general commander of the army, belongs the great merit in elaborating and realizing this program. He led directly the whole work of the party to mobilize the people in the war and united them in the national liberation front. As a great military strategist, Comrade Enver Hoxha is creator of the people's army and led it in all the decisive battles which led to the complete liberation of the country and the establishment of the people's power.

Our national liberation army, with 70,000 partisans, the best sons and daughters of the people, honourably carried out its historic mission. It liberated Albania self-reliantly, ousted the occupiers, destroyed the old order and established the new power of people's democracy. Likewise, on the order of the general commander Comrade Enver Hoxha, two divisions of the national liberation army, crossed the state border and pursued the Hitlerite occupiers in the territories of Yugoslavia to assist the Kosovo brothers and the people's of Yugoslavia.

After pointing out the transformations that have taken place over these four decades of the people's power in the epoch of the party, just as far and wide the country, in the District of Elbasan too, as well as the successes achieved in the attainment of the targets of the revolutionary drive "standard bearers in the implementation of the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha" he continued: We commemorate today's celebration at a time when we feel a deep grief. We don't have among us the founder of the party, the commander and commissar of the army, the most outstanding man of the Albanian state and nation the architect of socialist Albania, the most beloved man of our hearts, the teacher and unforgettable comrade, Enver Hoxha.

During all his life as a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary, Comrade Enver Hoxha worked for the good of the people and homeland. All our victories are linked with the wide and farsighted leadership of Comrade Enver Hoxha. That is why, our entire people, young and old, the entire party are grateful for ever to Comrade Enver Hoxha. That is why they took the solemn pledge that they will always be loyal to the teachings and instructions of Comrade Enver, will preserve the victories scored as the apple of their eyes. With his name in mind and heart, with resolution and courage, under the leadership of the party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, we will forge always ahead and will strengthen more and more the economy and the defence of the socialist homeland.

Our country, he continued, has today a powerful defence and a strong well-trained army. Our army is worthy continuer of the brilliant traditions of the national liberation army. Under the care of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha it was constantly modernized and revolutionized and waged a fierce struggle against the numerous internal and external enemies.

The party has been and is at the head of the army, at the head of the defence, in command. Our people's army has been and will always be a sharp and reliable weapon of the dictatorship of proletariat, a dear weapon for the people and party. It will be eternally in guard of the victories attained by our people's revolution.

The speech by Comrade Prokop Murra was often punctuated by the enthusiastic applause for the party of labour, its Central Committee with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head.

From the meeting a telegram was sent to the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers and the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania.

Afterwards visits were made to the museum house where the most important events in the history of the CPA and the national liberation war have taken place. After the visit to the museum house an artistic program was given with items devoted to the party, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the army of the soldier people, the socialist construction and the defence of the country.

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ALBANIA

ZERI I POPULLIT WRITES ON ARMY DAY

AU100940 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 10 Jul 85

[Text] Tirana, 10 Jul (ATA)--On occasion of July 10, the 42nd anniversary of the creation of our people's army, ZERI I POPULLIT and the other newspapers carry today articles devoted to this memorable date in the history of our people.

Under the above title, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries an article which says in part:

On this memorable day our entire people recall with honour that glorious road our people's army one of the monumental deeds of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha has traversed. [sentence as received]

This year this glorious anniversary is commemorated after the grave pain over the loss of Comrade Enver Hoxha, an anniversary which has been indissolubly linked with the name of the founder of our people's army. Our people honour the revolutionary deed of the national liberation army, the innumerable sacrifices made by their best sons and daughters and at the same time express their deep gratitude for the founder, commander, commissar and the soldier of its front ranks, Comrade Enver Hoxha. The contribution of Comrade Enver Hoxha to the creation, organization, democratization, perfection and direct leadership of our people's army is invaluable.

Our people's army, as Comrade Ramiz Alia has stressed, "emerged as a revolutionary army, conscious of its class character and of its mission for national and social liberation. The party has always been at its head, has had it under its command. The ideology of the party, has always been its ideology, the policy of the party has been and is its policy".

All the enemies have striven to hamper the construction of socialism in Albania and wipe out the victories achieved, they have aimed to deal a blow to the people's army but all their efforts have failed.

Our defence is steeled engaging the entire people in its structure. The application of the thesis of Comrade Enver Hoxha regarding the free military

school in the practice of the whole country is an original development of the Leninist ideas which makes possible the arming and the military training of the entire people for defence. The army of a soldier people is one of the most important development of the effectiveness of our defence on the road of the further democratization of the army, on the road of the realisation of the Leninist slogan "every citizen should be a soldier and every [as received] soldier should be a citizen". The distinctions between our army and those of the capitalist and revisionist countries are diametrically opposite in their aims, tactics and strategy. The military art of the people's war, the science of our army is an art of a army free from any kind of hired service and bureaucratic hierarchy, it is the art of an army which is being trained to defend the rights of the people and the homeland with high awareness, wisdom ability, and self-denial. This art is one of the most important deeds of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha for our people's army.

Every citizen of our country is a soldier in his work place too. A devoted soldier of the socialist homeland is he who guards the borders, is also the one who gives more mineral more energy, more wheat, more knowledge to the homeland. The party teaches us that the stronger the economy, the more powerful the defence of the homeland.

Under the leadership of the party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, our people's army, just like our entire people, will be always vigilant and on the alert to safeguard our dear socialist homeland.

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ALBANIA

MYFTIU SPEAKS AT LIBERATION CEREMONY

AU010930 Tirana ATA in English 0830 GMT 1 Jul 85

[Text] Tirana, 1 Jul (ATA)--The people of Kurvelesh commemorated in Kuc of Vlora District the 43d anniversary of the liberation of the region from foreign occupiers and local traitors. The celebrations were also attended by the member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the party and the vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Manush Myftiu and other comrades.

Wreaths were laid at the monument to the dead of the sons and daughters of the people of Kuc who laid down their lives for the liberation of the homeland, on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers, the party committees and executive committees of the peoples council of districts of Vlora, Tepelena, Gjirokaster, Saranda, etc.

Amidst the applause of those present the floor was also taken by Comrade Manush Myftiu who greeted on behalf of the Central Committee of the party, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania and the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Ramiz Alia personally.

In his speech Comrade Manush Myftiu pointed out among others, the ancient fighting and progressive traditions, the strong patriotic sentiments of the people of the Kurvelesh region, the outstanding contribution they have made to the liberation of the homeland and the establishment of the peoples power. They have immediately and unreservedly responded to the call of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha for armed uprising and have always stood in the forefront of the struggle, fighting with rare courage, boundless loyalty and unprecedented determination.

Speaking of the figure of Comrade Enver he underlined that with his name are linked all the victories of our people in this glorious period of revolutionary transformations and that the present socialist Albania is a deed of the people and party. In each aspect of its life it bears the seal of the deed and Marxist-Leninist thought of our great leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha. Then he spoke of the transformations made in this region with good traditions

and favourable natural conditions for the development of agriculture and of livestock in particular, of the revolutionary mobilisation of the masses to realise the tasks, through a perfect organisation and swift method, as Comrade Ramix Alia instructed in the meeting with the people of Vlora in Drashovica. In conclusion Comrade Manush Myftiu stressed that the experience of the national liberation war and the struggle for the construction and defence of socialism has its basis in the correct line of the party and in the unbreakable party-people unity.

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ALBANIA

MYFTIU ADDRESSES WOMEN'S UNION PLENUM

AU260844 Tirana ATA in English 0750 GMT 26 Jun 85

[Text] Tirana, 26 Jun (ATA)--The plenum of the general council of the WUA [Women's Union of Albania] convened in Lezha.

Attending were chairwomen of the councils of the Women's Union of the districts, representatives of the central mass organisations.

Present were also the member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the party and vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Manush Myftiu, the Minister of Health Ajli Alushani, the first secretary of the District Party Committee Mentor Muca and others.

Those present kept two minute silence in token of profound respect for the memory and deed of the beloved leader of our party and people, the architect of the revolutionary road for the emancipation of the Albanian Woman, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The report "The work of the WUA with the women's masses to carry into effect the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha on the health of mother and child", delivered by the President of the General Council of WUA Lumturi Rexha and the discussions of the participants stressed that the targets of the revolutionary drive "standard bearers in implementing the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha" are being materialised by carrying out an intensive educational work, by enhancing the spirit of actions and forging communist features.

Comrade Manush Myftiu too took the floor at the plenum. He pointed out among the other things that in the epoch of the party the women of Albania experienced the transformations of a profound political and social revolution of an allsided and unprecedented emancipation in their life, the inspirer and leader of which was Comrade Enver Hoxha. He pointed out the great care of the party and Comrade Enver for all the generations of the socialist society and particularly for children, for their good upbringing.

In conclusion, Comrade Manush Myftiu expressed his conviction that the women of our country, under the leadership of the party with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head, will always be in the van of the work to fulfill all the tasks, raising on a higher scale the work for the upbringing of children.

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ALBANIA

ALIA SPEECH AT PATOS PARTY CONFERENCE

AU091511 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 11 Jun 85 pp 1, 2

["From" the speech by AWP First Secretary Ramiz Alia delivered on 10 June at the AWP conference in Patos]

[Text] I am very happy to be here, among the delegates to the party conference of the Oil Region of Patos. On this occasion, I would like first to convey to you, and to all communists and workers of the oil sector, the greetings of the Central Committee of the party and my best wishes for fruitful work for the good of the people and socialism in this vital sector of our national economy.

This time the party conferences to report on party activities and to elect officials are being held in a new situation, in which the founder of the party, the architect of the new socialist society, our leader and beloved teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha is not among the living. That was a great loss and source of pain for all communists and the entire Albanian people; it was the most trying moment during this half century. We, the Albanian communists, and all the workers, in cities and in the villages, will continue to march with decisiveness on the party's and Enver's path, according to the illuminating teachings and revolutionary works of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

During his whole revolutionary life Comrade Enver dedicated all his energies to the nation's cause, to the basic interests of the people, to socialism and the revolutionary cause. He left us a strong party, healthy and clean; he left us a flowering Socialist Albania, developed and fertile; he left us the invincible unity of the party and the people; he left us a country totally independent, self-assured, and with clear perspectives for continuing to go ahead with its own forces. Thus, as in the days of our great loss, always with open hearts, with feeling, always ready, with work and creativity, the party and the people are faithful to the solemn pledge to continue the work of Comrade Enver, to advance the cause of our nation and of socialism.

This pledge and fighting spirit have been expressed everywhere, including in the new party elections. They have been strongly manifested in particular at this meeting of communist oil workers. Your discussions, the healthy

spirit that dominated these discussions, the responsibilities that you have undertaken and the readiness manifested to fulfill and overfulfill your tasks, are also the commitments of all the oil workers in implementing to the last detail the recommendations and the teachings of Comrade Enver, in developing and strengthening the oil industry, the main pillar of energy and of our industry as a whole. This is the highest homage to the image of Comrade Enver Hoxha, to his theoretical and immortal practical revolutionary work.

The party has highly valued the importance and the role of oil. Thus, the development and strengthening of the oil industry has always been at the center of its economic policies. "Just as any organism cannot live without blood, so the socialist economy cannot develop without oil," stressed Comrade Enver sometime ago.

The step-by-step practical achievement in the program of developing the complex modern oil extraction and refining industry is a historic merit and monumental deed of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha. An average of one-third of the investments for the country's basic industrialization is used, one-tenth of the industrial workers are employed, one-fourth of the industrial funds are involved in this sector. Today we have a complex oil system made up of 37 various enterprises and leading scientific organizations, equipped with powerful modern techniques and technology, where 1,400 specialists and highly educated cadres work alongside thousands and thousands of workers and technicians.

A lot of work was needed to realize this program according to the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, indeed an awesome amount of work and sacrifices was needed. To ensure the smooth running of the oil sector we had to clash in particular with the cunning and coarseness of internal and external enemies that tried to hinder and sabotage it and to stop the prospects for the industry's development and leave us like a fish without water.

The enemies of socialism, now, as in the past and in the future, have tried and are trying to attack us at vital and key points, like the oil economy. They have failed and will fail due to the vigilance of our working class, which maintains its guard and will keep its eyes open, so that the enemies' attempts will fail in view of our unity and the forces of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Oil and gas are of particular importance to our economy, which is developing entirely through our own forces. Oil and gas extraction, their refining and their rational and thrifty use, are decisive guarantees of our sources of energy; they guarantee our important foreign exchange, the development of regular production forces, and expansion into new ventures. This is a reality that we see everywhere. We have and have had a bustling development of electric energy and of coal, but oil and gas provide three-fifths of the country's energy needs. On the other hand, oil by-products that are sold abroad make up a good part of our exports, despite the increase of mainly finished industrial goods and agricultural products.

Our internal enemies, beginning with Tuk Jakova, Koco Thedhosi, and Mehmet Shehu, the Soviet revisionists and their tools, not only predicted that our country's oil and gas reserves were depleted, but they tried to "argue" that their extraction and refining would be uneconomical. These predictions and "arguments" with hostile aims ended up in the garbage can.

The oil industry has been and is very profitable. It covers its own needs for expanded reproduction and makes large financial and hard currency resources available for the development of other sectors of our economy, for social and cultural activities and the defense of the country.

I mentioned these economic aspects of the oil industry because of their great social and political importance for the dynamic development of the economy and the comprehensive socialist progress of our country. These aspects should be well known by the cadres and specialists, by the communists and all the oil workers. This will serve them to acquire a healthier conviction of the importance of oil, and also to further raise the mobilization of the working class and its specialists to be able to always fulfill and overfulfill their tasks in this vital sector of the economy. Our society requires and will require more products and reserve sources where so much has been invested, as in the oil industry. This is one of the basic requirements of the economic laws of socialism which originates from the fact that in normal conditions it is essential to ensure the material goods and fulfill the cultural needs of our society. Only with political conviction regarding these aspects of oil can the party's work be effective and raise the workers' and specialists' level of work and creativity, placing the society's interests above anything else.

While realistically looking at the Seventh 5-Year Plan which is ending and at the preparations of the new one which is envisaged as more ambitious and as posing more problems and complex tasks, the party requires that the oil industry be well looked after. The party has been and is speaking about it openly. Therefore I am speaking openly to the communists, oil workers, specialists and cadres of this important economic sector. The party requires and expects more from you. At this stage, when oil and its by-products are decisive for the development of the economy, culture, and defense there should be no justification for neglecting oil extraction and relevant study and research. Thus the party organization should deeply reflect on how to stimulate the consciousness of communists, oil workers, specialists, and cadres for the great tasks that lie ahead.

Everyday experience has shown us, even more so in this important oil sector, that the conviction and the mobilization of workers should be based on documentation, scientific studies, advanced experience, and the analysis of achievements as well as weaknesses in work.

The oil sector is a difficult one, comrades. The difficulties should be tackled with a high sense of responsibility by the party organizations, the organs of the government and of the economy in the districts and at the

center, but also by the trade union and youth organizations. In order to properly face the situation one should not just assign the responsibilities together with their automatic accounting functions. The interests of the party and the progress of our work require from the oil workers, from the working class, the cadres and specialists a high degree of inspiration under the critical conditions of the world economy; and given that the encirclement of our country by the capitalists and revisionists is increasing, the tasks of the oil industry are greater. Thus, it is imperative to overcome with decisiveness and as quickly as possible any excuses, any weaknesses and shortcomings that are noticed.

The difficulties are faced and overcome when we put in motion the logic of the party and communist determination, increase self-confidence and momentum at work, when the cadres and communists are in the forefront of the struggle, take responsibilities assigned to them and do not stop until they fulfill and overfulfill their tasks. This militant feeling is required from them, and particularly from you, by the party and the people. By this kind of spirit one should measure the communists' qualities and values, the values and capabilities of the cadres and specialists here at the oil industry.

Comrade communists, cadres, specialists and the whole working class in this industry must well understand that their responsibilities and tasks are measured in relation to the important role that gas and oil play in the country's economy, its development, and its progress. Thus, your efforts must be greater, much greater than those of other sectors of the economy.

The new progress that the party organs in the oil industry ask of you will be achieved only when we speak openly of the shortcomings of those that do not achieve the tasks and support the opinion and experiences of the advanced. It will be achieved by developing the fighting spirit of communist criticism toward restrictive concepts while supporting and aiding courageous concepts and the men of initiative that fight with a spirit of self-denial as the situation requires. Raising oil production, which the party asks of you, will not be achieved by merely carrying out your assigned routine work, but by raising your revolutionary vigilance, tightening work control, using the methods of revolutionary action.

Comrades, the Central Committee of the party is convinced that the conditions for an increase in oil and gas production exist, that the possibilities and unexploited reserves are many. It is necessary to reject the bureaucratic methods of leadership and draw the right conclusions from the advanced experiences.

It is a fact that oil extraction has declined in the last years. With the mobilization of our forces, with serious studies and with a more efficient organization of technologies, particularly in the expansion of existing wells, we can say today that the situation justifies optimism and offers clear perspectives. During the first 4 months of this year alone, at one source, gas production equaled two-thirds of last year's entire production. These successes are encouraging and indicate the great possibilities that we have.

The main tasks of the party and of the related bodies is to consolidate and further the turn in the achievement of gas extraction. For this purpose we should intensify our work in increasing the reserves of gas extraction, increase the coefficient in the concentration of accompanying gas at all existing sources, and minimize its consumption in the oil industry itself, aiming to achieve within 1985 a substantial increase in relation to present production. This would be of great support in increasing industrial production, in particular chemical fertilizers and energy production, and in increasing exports, if we keep in mind that many boilers that need to be converted to gas still burn tens and hundreds of thousands of tons of heavy oil.

The party appreciates as an important success the fact that in some old existing wells, such as in Marinez, Ballsh, Stalin city, etc. oil production has in general stabilized and in some cases even increased. Statistics testify that during 1981-1984 two-thirds of the entire oil production was obtained from these wells. In addition some hundreds of thousands of tons of oil were added to the 5-year plan. Last year's production showed an 11 percent increase against 1981. The communists and the oil workers, specialists and cadres connected with these sources have made great contributions to implementing the party's orientations and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha. This is a great achievement and should be expanded.

The development of the economy needs more oil and gas; it needs a high degree of assurance that the plans that are being drawn up will be achieved. The main foundation for realizing future 5-year plans are the wells being exploited now. The production of these sources not only should be maintained but also should be increased. Thus, the intensive and rational reactivation of these oil reserves through a total exploitation of existing wells and their swift expansion, their enlargement, the use of the latest effective methods and of new technologies in the exploited areas, are the permanent tasks of all oil workers, of all the research and management organs of the oil industry.

The increase in oil production in all possible ways constitutes the basic reserve for raising our national production and fulfilling the needs of the new 5-year plan.

These are potential possibilities, and their realization depends on your conscientious work and the scientific knowledge of specialists, technicians, and workers; it depends on the proper and efficient use of techniques and technological criteria. In the oil industry there are still cases of carelessness at work; routine organization, as well as professional inefficiency of some specialist and workers. Particularly in the field of oil extraction technology, a general revaluation of research, practical considerations, and experiences is necessary. In this way we can discover our biggest defects. In this field, more than in any other, much work and knowledge, scientific boldness, and rich experiences of many years' duration are needed.

The increase of oil production in the existing fields is mainly based on the drilling of wells. Studies in this field are based on modern methods

and equipment of a high advanced level. Alongside all this, practical experience has also advanced. The successes of last year show that with the same number of drillings as in 1981, we achieved 1.7 times as many drilling meters. An important achievement is the improvement in drilling technology. Today it is possible to design and drill wells more than 5,000 to 6,000 meters deep; drilling wells of 4,000 meters is common even in crumbling formations, salty formations, or formations with abnormal pressure. Of course, this is a great achievement for our specialists and workers. I would like to stress that in the struggle to secure a better and a quicker supply of oil, we should not stay away from sandy formations, as has been done, thinking that deeper areas are richer in oil deposits, etc., etc. This is true to some extent, but one-sidedness could be dangerous.

The party organs of the oil industry should stimulate the vanguard workers and spread their good experience. But how effective is the dissemination of the experiences of the Petro Nushi, Avni Licaj, Xhevahir Brezhani, Adem Ibro, Skender Sake, and other progressive brigades? If an average achievement of the results of these brigades is reached, then with the same equipment and costs, the volume of drillings could be increased by 20-25 percent. That means that we will have 40 to 50 more wells. Also, to be praised is the work of the brigade led by Bashkim Xhaferri which, with its high and bold work discipline, was able to save 2,000 meters of tubes. There are many similar examples in the oil industry, but they should be cited more often and also brought to light by our press.

The dissemination of advanced experiences in general, learning what is practical from them, is a fundamental requirement of our socialist life; it is the driving force in production and everywhere else, but it is also an essential component of science and its advance. Enver Hoxha taught us: The science of the oil industry is very complicated; since it was the result of practical experiences, we should always keep practical experience within our sight and never neglect it."

Long experience has convinced us that at all levels of the oil system, studies and geological surveys precede everything and must be even more effective. The party has strengthened the geological and drilling services for oil and gas and will support them in the future. With the absolute certainty of underground oil and gas deposits, experience in this sector stretching over decades, having increased the number of specialists, technicians and skilled workers, and possessing large quantities of the latest machinery and equipment, all the conditions exist for even better progress in the oil sector.

In this field, too, problems arise that the party and the Research Institute for Gas and Oil, the management of the gas and oil sector, and the ministry must look into more responsibly. We must stress particularly that it does not seem normal that the seismic stations are used only up to 60 or 70 percent of their capacity; it is not normal that excessive time and assets should be devoted to the demarcation of known fields at the expense of

surveys in new fields, and so forth. We should proceed carefully in the areas with oil-bearing potential and extend surveys, but they must be well prepared and studied geologically and geophysically and the scientific level should be raised.

In order to fulfill and overfulfill the party's task in oil and gas, it is imperative that the party organization remain at the helm in the work being conducted and demand accounts on everything.

A strong party organization militates here at the Oil Sector of Patos. In no other industrial sector do we have such a strong force as in that of the oil sector. But how effective are the communists and cadres, how do these basic organizations work, where should the party's activities concentrate, and what are the main point in order to progress further. These questions were discussed here during the conference and you will go into them deeper still, because you yourselves are living everyday and every moment with the numerous problems and the difficulties that arise in the oil sector. However, proceeding on the basis of concern that we all have for this important sector of the economy and the discussions at this conference, I would like to draw your attention to some points.

First of all, the party organizations as a whole and every communist, are required to be at the forefront of the work and difficulties that arise and should be characterized by a nimble, operative, and revolutionary style and method of work. Sluggishness at work is not permitted anywhere but, is particularly dangerous and damaging in party activities. Let us understand well that the party is a living, active, and mobilizing body, and above all a leader. These qualities should characterize every party organization and every communist.

What is being asked from the party in the oil sector? First, every communist, be he a leading cadre, scientific worker, or worker should set an example at the job and show good results, should mobilize and lead the rest of the masses of the working people for the implementation of plans and tasks. They should be untiring, creative, and demanding at work, they should be courageous and make use of initiative at work. I think that more should be asked from the communists in this area. Second, the party organizations should stay away from fruitless work and discussions. They should remain in leading positions when their tasks are achieved, when solving problems that arise, when stimulating people for action. The nation requires more oil and gas and it is in the implementation of this task that the work of the communists and the role of the basic party organizations should be measured. The oldest working class is in the oil industry, which has revolutionary traditions and great work experience. The party should rely on the working class and lead it, in the same way that it should educate, motivate, and rely on the specialists and cadres.

The oil industry requires science and knowledge, and many well-founded studies as well as close cooperation between some of the scientific disciplines.

Thus, now and in the future, the consolidation of scientific work and its efficiency should be the party's concern, which requires that the scientific level of the party's leadership in this endeavor itself be raised. Without this one cannot identify the complex problems of geology and technology, one cannot actively influence the coordination of various links of the oil industry, one cannot efficiently check progress in this field, on which are primarily based the prospects and entire effectiveness of the oil industry.

The interest of the economy demands that all specialists be entrusted with respective scientific duties, and that their confidence be raised on the basis of the positive results of their research and projects. Today the need to attract the ideas of the workers and technicians in research, in an organized and efficient manner, is more necessary than ever; it is more than ever necessary to raise their scientific level in the interpretation of their tasks, to do everything in order to use the laboratories, the electronic equipment, and computers effectiently; to fight any procrastination in implementing completed research and valuable positive experience--in which there are no small deficiencies.

In oil, the geological and technological institutions play an important role, and a large number of specialists are employed in this sector. The task of the party organization is to make sure that a communist spirit predominates in these institutions, that they work very hard in fulfilling and overfulfilling their tasks, that they act boldly, as scientists are expected to act, that they persist in their research, and be close to the working class, which they should serve conscientiously.

The oil system, as I stressed earlier, is a widespread and complex field with many frontline and rearline organisms. Consequently, the party should pay more attention to the coordination of various aspects of work in the oil industry. This is another important link in the operations of the oil system in which we should persist to a great extent, looking at the problems in their dynamic interrelationships as they evolve during the extraction of gas and oil, but also from the viewpoint of the increase possibilities of achieving these tasks. The state organs of the management here and in the enterprises, the cadres, the specialists, as well as all employees, must be highly mobilized, and should submit themselves fully to party control and render account to the workers.

The party will continually show care that the oil sector is better supported by other sectors of the economy, especially by the engineering, transportation, and construction sectors, as well as by the foreign and domestic trade sectors. Likewise, the Academy of Sciences and the higher institutions should help the oil sector more under the guidance of the Committee for Science and Technology.

The party's efforts are aimed at providing the country with more oil and gas, at securing reserves for the industry now and for the years to come in order to fulfill the needs of the economy, to increase exports of oil, gas and their by-products, to ceaselessly strengthen the energy resources of the

country and to raise the yields of investments and expenses made in this sensitive sector of the people's economy. These aims, stemming from the interests of socialism and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, should be the guiding light of the party organization and all the employees in the oil system, they should be the foundation on which to draft the Eighth 5-Year Plan, which will further raise the prosperity and glory of our socialist country.

I am convinced that the oil workers, who carry on their shoulders a great deal of experience and many revolutionary traditions, with the communists at the head will soon, very soon, become the nation's standard-bearer in the fulfillment and overfulfillment of tasks and plans. The party has faith in you, comrade workers and communists of the oil sector, in your determination and persistence.

I wish you good work and success in all endeavors, comrade communists, workers and specialists of the oil industry!

Long live our heroic party.

CSO: 2100/44

ALBANIA

ALIA SPEAKS AT MALLAKASTER RALLY

AU041640 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 12 Jun 85 pp 1-2

["From" the speech delivered by Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the AWP Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, at a rally in the village of Hekal, Fier District, on 11 June]

[Text] It is a great pleasure for me to meet with you, the patriotic people of Mallakaster, with these brave and loyal people who are linked with the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha like flesh to the bone. Ever since I left Tirana to attend the party conference of the oil industry workers in Patos, I was determined to come here also, in Mallakaster, to meet with you. I was determined to see you and discuss the problems and tasks confronting you, but I also wanted to satisfy your wishes. Some leading comrades of the Hekal agricultural cooperative were in Tirana a few days ago and they invited me to come among you. On this occasion, said Comrade Ramiz Alia, I would like to convey the greetings of the AWP Central Committee and wish you successes and victories in all fields to all the cooperativists of your region, to all the heroic people of Mallakaster.

In the course of our people's long history, during the most important events in the country's life, and in the numerous battles waged by the Albanians for freedom and independence, the region of Mallakaster has distinguished itself for bravery and a lofty patriotic spirit. All the people know of the figures of fighters like Rrapo Hekali, all Albania knows of the Independence patriots Hajredin Fratari and Ismail Klosi, as well as the widespread participation of the people of Mallakaster in the 1920 Battle of Vlore.

These qualities were evident especially during the national liberation struggle, when the people of Mallakaster bound themselves from the very beginning to the party and Comrade Enver. Those sons of Mallakaster like Dervish Hekali, Ramiz Aranitasi, Dino Kalenja and over 200 other martyrs, whose blood lies in the foundations of socialist Albania, laid down their lives.

In the history of the struggle, Comrade Ramiz Alia stated further on, there is a particular event that is linked with the name of Hekal and Mallakaster. What happened here in Hekal with its 10 known councillors has been transformed

into a symbol of resistance and sacrifice for the people's regime. The enemy captured, tortured and massacred the 10 councillors of Hekal, but he could not break them, they did not betray the party. This was a reflection of the affection and revolutionary determination of the people of Mallakaster and of all the Albanian people to defend the people's regime, it was a reflection of their boundless confidence that only the people's power would bring a happy future. The councillors of Hekal are calling on us to preserve our people's power, to strengthen and steel our country, to be vigilant in defending freedom and independence.

The great leader of the party and of the people, Comrade Enver Hoxha left us two months ago. But the people and the party will live on forever with Enver Hoxha, with his teachings and counsels. Enver Hoxha was a rare person, he was one of those leaders who are given birth by revolutions, by great historic eras. He was a giant of Marxist thinking and revolutionary deeds. Comrade Enver's loss was the greatest loss experienced by the new Albania in these four decades. But Comrade Enver left behind a steel-like party, a pure party, capable of leading the people from victory to victory, in the same way that he left an Albania that is free of debts and obligations to anyone, with a developed economy and advanced culture. It is precisely from this free and independent Albania, from this consistent party of ours, and from our developed country that all our people drew the strength to cope with their great loss. Comrade Enver was brave like the people, and he was optimistic like the people, hence he taught us not to weaken in no matter what situation; on the contrary, he taught us to find the strength to overcome even the most difficult situations boldly. It was with this teaching of Comrade Enver in mind that the workers class, the cooperativist peasantry, and young people set out with all their energies to make certain that the country and socialism progress, that they develop uninterruptedly. This happened throughout Albania, and this happened also in Mallakaster.

Our country has changed considerably during the past 40 years, in the economy and its culture; our people themselves have changed, they have become more knowledgeable, more cultured, more emancipated, freer. You said that Comrade Enver has visited this area several times. I would like to recall his first visit to Mallakaster, in September 1947. Comrade Enver told you then to produce more. How much wheat did you produce then? Seven or eight quintals per hectare. Whereas now, you are producing 30-40 quintals per hectare, even 50-60 quintals in some brigades and sectors. This is the way that you, the people of Mallakaster, have kept your pledge, and you deserve congratulations for this. Comrade Enver told you then to build more schools, hospitals, and factories. Look at present-day Ballsh, one of the largest industrial centers of the new Albania. With regard to schools, they have filled all the villages. The secretary of the AWP bureau in Cakran said that 121 out of 127 brigade leaders in the cooperative have secondary education. This is a great victory. Here in Hekal we learned that two out of every three homes possess television sets. This is an indication of that great revolution that has taken place in the cultural life of the people, their great desire for progress, but also the high economic standard achieved. The chairman of the Dames cooperative said that 80 new homes are built

annually. But all the homes of the people of Mallakaster are now and beautiful. Infant mortality here is low, while the average life-span has reached 70 years. The average age of the population is very young, only 25 years. This gives cause for great joy to the party and the people. All Albania has achieved such progress.

The party and Comrade Enver have entrusted the people of Mallakaster with continual and large investments to improve the land, livestock-raising, agriculture, and horticulture. These investments, combined with the tireless effort of the people of this area, have given their results and will become even more beneficial in the future. These results are enjoyed primarily by yourselves, and this has been the party's intention. The comrades in Fier have told me that the cooperative of Aranitas holds fourth place in the district as regards the per capita income, despite the fact that it contains mostly hilly and not very fertile soil. Surpassing some cooperatives in the plains, this cooperative has produced 6,000 quintals of what over and above the plan. I wish that the example of the Aranitas cooperative would be followed by all cooperatives in the Mallakaster region.

I was also pleased, Comrade Ramiz stated, with the information of the comrade secretaries and chairmen, who assured us that the agricultural cooperatives throughout the Mallakaster area will continue to progress at a more rapid pace and that the wellbeing of the people will rise further. We are fully confident about this, because we are aware of the readiness and mobilization of the people of Mallakaster, we know their respect for work. But we have also another guarantee for this: the all-round support that will be given to them by the party and our people's government for ever greater transformations in production, culture, in the way of life.

We all know Comrade Enver Hoxha's affection for and attention to the progress of Mallakaster. He has given instructions and counsel and had already envisaged years ago this completely transformed panorama of its land, fields, and hills. Comrade Enver knew these hills by name and, until the last days of his life, he continually instructed what should be cultivated, what plantations should be created, what new irrigation projects needed to be built. The party and Comrade Enver have attached particular attention to the irrigation of the lands of Mallakaster. Many large reservoirs have been built here, like the one in Lumare. But many other reservoirs will follow the Lumare one. The party will not spare investments to further extend and improve the irrigation system in this area. We will do this because great and important tasks are awaiting agriculture and livestock-raising, in the plains, in the hills, and in the mountains.

The Politburo adopted an important decision recently, and this requires an immediate change in the livestock sector, because this sector is directly linked with the large scale fulfillment of the needs of the people and the elevation of their living standards. The implementation of this decision will be achieved in a relatively short time.

The party now requires a greater appreciation of livestock production by everyone, because what is required from this sector is not a partial improvement, but radical transformations leading to a numerical increase in the heads of cattle and to higher productivity. The party's agrarian policy, which considered that the production of bread grains should be the fundamental task of the people working in the agricultural sector has been and continues to be a correct policy, but it cannot be achieved now without a considerable increase in livestock production. These constitute the diet of the people, and must therefore be treated as being of the same importance as bread grains. There are numerous possibilities of increasing livestock production throughout the country, but particularly so in Fier District. And the district's tasks in these fields are even greater, not only because it is mainly a plains area, but also because great reserves exist here. It is neither correct nor a normal thing for your district to have the lowest number of cattle per 100 hectares in the republic. Nor are we pleased with the fact that Fier District has a lower average yield of milk per cow than Mirdite or Pogradec districts. This indicates a relative lag on the livestock sector in your district and means that a greater effort must be made to achieve the transformation desired by the party.

In the Mallakaster area, too, the possibilities for the development of the livestock sector are greater than the actual achievements. The people of Mallakaster are known for their traditions as livestock-raiser, particularly smaller livestock. The land, hills, and terrain of its cooperatives are suitable for livestock-raising and for increasing yields. It is a fact that the Mallakaster area has had a larger number of cattle than it has at present.

In order to achieve the desired transformation as rapidly as is possible, Comrade Ramiz stressed further on, the valuable folk traditions of the area must be put to better use. The people of Mallakaster are known for their skill in the use of natural pastures. It may be said that these have decreased because hundreds of hectares have been reclaimed for field crops or for the creation of plantations. This is true, but by increasing investments and care for natural pastures, it would be possible to graze more livestock. In addition, by increasing the acreage of forage crops, improving breeds, and establishing a better fodder structure, it would be possible for Mallakaster to increase the number of livestock. The practice of the extensive development of livestock-raising have been and will continue to be enriched with elements of intensive development.

Our countryside has become a large consumer of livestock products and this reflects primarily a natural trend of raising its wellbeing. Every agricultural cooperative and all leading cadres and specialists must not consider their work to have been completed even when, as in the case of Mallakaster, they can distribute 13-15 leks per working day, if they do not supply the people with the required quantities of meat, milk, vegetables and fruit.

In addition: the normal road of our development requires that the coöperativist peasantry should also supply all the livestock products required by its ally, the working class, in the same way that the latter is supplying the countryside with all the necessary equipment required for the development of the economy, as well as all that is needed for a higher living standard.

What is primarily needed to achieve this is to increase the number of livestock, because this means more meat and milk. The agricultural cooperatives of Mallakaster have great possibilities for increasing the number of livestock, but also improving the stock in accordance with area conditions. Advanced experience indicates that milk yields could be doubled and even tripled in Mallakaster. But the best possibilities here lie in increasing the number of cows and increasing these yields. This is an urgent task arising not only from the need to improve supplies of livestock products to the population, but also from the need for the further socialist transformation of our livestock sector itself.

The more effective development of horticulture, Comrade Ramiz Alia went on to say, also constitutes an important task. More attention should be paid to this sector, because the country expects more from it, in return for the unrestricted investments made. The increased production of fruit, and not only olives, for which the people of Mallakaster have a tradition dating back centuries, is directly related to the rational utilization of every inch of soil, the improved fulfillment of the needs of the people, the improvement of their diet, and the supplying of the entire working class that is extracting oil in this area. But the increasing of yields from fruit-growing has more than economic importance. Hundreds of workers in the cities are processing fruits and vegetables, using raw materials received from the cooperative members.

We must produce more, but we must also learn to defend all that we are creating. The enemies have never ceased and will never cease their savage fight against socialism and against Albania. We must therefore work and be vigilant, we must deny the class enemy any opportunity of operating, because we are thus defending our work, our dear country, our dear Albania. Side by side with the accomplishment of all economic tasks, we must strengthen our country's defense, the defense of our freedom and independence, which we have won with so much blood and sacrifice. Let us not forget that we are a country encircled by imperialists, social imperialist, and revisionist enemies. The current situation is not calm. On the contrary, all-round efforts are being made by American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism to subjugate the peoples and to impose their law of exploitation and domination of the peoples. We must therefore be vigilant against all enemies who, as always, are savage, aggressive, and provocative.

Through our unity we will not only defeat the pressure of the enemies, but will further the victories attained and raise even higher the name of our beloved Albania.

In conclusion, said Comrade Ramiz Alia, I would like to wish you once again success in all fields, and happiness in every family.

Long live the people, long live the party!

CSO: 2100/44

ALBANIA

LUSHNJE SENDS TELEGRAM TO ALIA ON HARVEST

AU030903 Tirana ATA in English 0745 GMT 3 Jul 85

[Text] Tirana, 3 Jul (ATA)--Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the CC of the PLA, has received a letter from the plenum of the party committee of the District of Lushnje which says among others:

The plenum of the party committee joyfully informs you that the working people of the District of Lushnje with the communists at the head realised and overfulfilled the plan of wheat production and that in the entire 15,411 hectares area they took an average yield of 42 quintals per hectare, from 41.7 quintals per hectare that was planned, also realising its planned delivery to the state.

This year the campaign for the new bread concluded earlier than any other time. The harvesting ended 2 days ahead of schedule and threshing was performed 10 days earlier than the time limit set in the decision of the Council of Ministers. These results are a direct expression of the great mobilisation and impetus at work on the part of the entire people of our district, an expression of turning into strength the profound grief the great loss of our glorious leader Comrade Enver Hoxha caused among all the communists and our people.

The "Stalin" agricultural cooperative of Krutja, which is the first agricultural cooperative formed in our country, took the highest yield, ensuring 49.5 quintals per hectare in a 750 hectares area. The cooperative of Kemishtaj, which bears the title of "Heroine of Socialist Labour", received 49.1 quintals per hectare in 580 hectares of land. These cooperatives are followed by the agricultural cooperatives of Toshkez, Sarava, Fiershegan, Golem, etc. A yield of 46.6 quintals per hectare was taken in the 9,400 hectares lying in the area where priority has been given to the intensification of agricultural production.

The fact that many economies, sectors and units have ensured stabilized and increasingly higher yields in wheat production is also rather satisfactory. The agricultural research institute in Lushnje and the economic enterprises in this district have made their own contribution to these achievements.

The overfulfillment of the wheat production plan testifies to the correct agrarian policy that our party has always followed and is following, to the immortal teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and to the total superiority of socialist order in our country.

The successful accomplishment of the wheat campaign occurred parallel to the realisation of other tasks on various fronts of work and production. All the economic enterprises realized the six-month plan of the total industrial production by 105 per cent, turning out products estimated at 10 million leks more than planned, the export plan was realized by 102 per cent, the gas production by 100 per cent, the transport volume by 100 per cent, the public services by 101 per cent. In agriculture the plan of potato export was realised 101 per cent and that of tomato by 100 per cent, the milk and meat delivery to the state was also realised by 100 per cent.

Under the leadership of the party bearing always in mind the brilliant teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and your very valuable instructions Comrade Ramiz Alia during your visits to the districts of Vlore and Fier, the working people of our district will exert all their energies to carry out all the tasks, to strengthen further the unity of the people round the party and to look forward to the 40th anniversary of the distribution of land title deeds among the people of Myzeqe by Comrade Enver Hoxha with ever higher results.

CSO: 2020/173

ALBANIA

VLORE AWP PLENUM INFORMS ALIA OF HARVEST RESULTS

AU141807 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 14 Jul 85

[Text] Tirana, 14 Jul (ATA)--Comrade Ramix Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the party, has received a letter from the plenum of the party committee of the District of Vlore, through which is informed [as received] that the working people of agriculture of this district realised the plan of the production and the yield of wheat and they took in all the area a yield never taken before in this district.

The working people of the District of Vlore, the letter says, inspired by the warm talks and cordial meetings you had during the visits in May, and by putting into life your valuable instructions to elevate the level of the leading, organising work of the party, were mobilised and finished earlier than any other year the wheat harvesting and threshing campaign. Only the agricultural enterprises of the district gave 3,500 quintals of wheat more than the plan.

The achievements are a concrete expression of the transformation into force of the profound grief for all our communists and people caused by the great loss of our glorious and unforgettable leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The hitherto achievements have mobilised the working people of agriculture to work even harder, the letter continues. Led by the life-giving teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha and your very valuable instructions, we will work with the motto "Work and Vigilance" and will realise the tasks in all the fields.

The important tasks set by the 12th plenum of the Central Committee of the party for the frontal realisation of the planned tasks through a strong austerity regime, are the compass for the work of the party in the district. On this basis, finding our new reserves, we shall carry forward the achievements for the growth of production.

CSO: 2020/173

ALBANIA

DURRES PLENUM SENDS LETTER TO ALIA ON HARVEST

AU050851 Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 5 Jul 85

[Text] Tirana, 5 Jul (ATA)--Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, has received a letter from the plenum of the party committee of Durres District, which says among the other things:

We inform you that the working people of the District of Durres, turning into strength the profound grief caused by the loss of the most beloved man of our hearts, Comrade Enver Hoxha, with an extraordinary mobilisation realised the plan of wheat production by 100.6 percent and concluded its delivery. The working people of agriculture powerfully backed up by the working class to apply the drive "Standard bearers in implementing the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha", worked with action and mobilisation and carried into reality the targets they had set to themselves, concluding the wheat harvesting within 18 days, 2 days ahead of schedule.

After speaking of the advanced experience as well as of the brigades and sectors that attained a yield of over 50 quintals per hectare, the letter stresses further on: The tasks laid to us are great but greater is our mobilisation and we are optimistic that we [shall] inform the party of other successes; therefore we have concentrated our attention more on carrying in time and quality the services of the spring crops, particularly in maize, vegetables, sunflower, cotton, soya, bean, etc.

Working to realise all the tasks, we inform you that during the first half of the year, good achievements have also been attained in other sectors too. The plan of total industrial production was fulfilled 101 per cent, the volume of constructions-assembly by 100.7 per cent, labour productivity 101.8 per cent, while the export was realised by 106 per cent.

The great revolutionary mobilisation prevails in our district just as far and wide as the country. The oath we have taken before our respected leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, as well as the good results we have scored, have prised higher the enthusiasm and the spirit of mobilisation of all the working people, to successfully cope with the important tasks we are faced with and to attain the targets we have set for the year 1985, the letter says in conclusion.

CSO: 2020/173

ALBANIA

ALIA GREETS RADIO SHKODER ON ANNIVERSARY

AU280957 Tirana ATA in English 0910 GMT 28 Jun 85

[Text] Tirana, 28 Jun (ATA)--The creation of Radio Shkoder 40 years ago, under the care of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, was a marked event in the political and cultural life of the district. Over this period of time, it has become an important means of party propaganda for the education of the masses.

A jubilee meeting was held on this occasion. It was attended by working people of this institution, voluntary collaborators and correspondents, representatives of central press organs, ATA and radio television as well as leading cadres of the party and state power organs in the district.

Those present listened attentively to the greeting that the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, has sent to the collective of Radio Shkoder on occasion of the 40th anniversary of its creation. It was read out by the chief of the press sector at the Central Committee of the party, Dhimiter Tona. The greeting assessed the work done by Radio Shkoder as a tribune to reflect the successes and advanced experience of the district's working people in the realisation of the tasks of socialist construction. This institution has also made a valuable contribution to the affirmation of the values of the people's art becoming in this way a hearth of the cultural and artistic movement in the district.

The director of Radio Shkoder spoke on the 40 year long road of this institution. Then, the collective and some of the workers of Radio Shkoder were presented with orders and medals conferred by the presidium of the peoples assembly.

From the meeting a telegram was sent to the first secretary of the Central Committee of the party, Comrade Ramiz Alia.

CSO: 2020/173

ALBANIA

POSTWAR POPULATION TRIPLED; MOSTLY YOUNG

AU011307 Tirana ATA in English 0930 GMT 1 Jul 85

[Text] Tirana, 1 Jul (ATA)--Today Albania is a country where the socialist law of population is completely applied. Through a high and stable level of births and a constantly decreasing mortality, the population of the country during the 40 year period of the socialist construction has tripled.

This vigorous growth is a source of the creation and maintenance of the structure where the young ages of population prevail. About 50 percent of the population is 22 years and 46 percent of the work source are for the age groups of 20-35 years old. [sentence as received] The socialist economy of Albania is able not only to use all the new sources of work that are created, but also it is inclined to use them with high efficiency.

The development of the economy at fast and stable rates, as the main factor that guarantees the growth of social product and the national income, the creation of new fronts of work and the employment of the new able-bodied forces has influence and will influence even more in the future to preserve the rapid rates of the growth of population. Through the increase of the national incomes, the individual and social consumption, the fast rate development of the economy are the main factor to meet the increasing needs of the population, the growth of consumption per capita and the further improvement of the structure of this consumption, the increase of the number of social-cultural institutions and the elevation of the level of services.

An important direct positive influence in the process of the extended reproduction of population plays the increase of the fund of social consumption at great proportions. Through it the socialist state realises not only the higher care for other and child, but it also defrays the increasing expenditure on education, culture, health, etc.

CSO: 2020/173

ALBANIA

NEW HOXHA BOOK HAILS 'FRIENDSHIP' WITH GREEK PEOPLE

AU131850 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 13 Jul 85

[Text] A new book by Comrade Enver Hoxha entitled "Two Friendly Peoples" has been published. The book is devoted to relations between the Albanian and Greek peoples. This book, which the author submitted for publication toward the end of 1984, includes excerpts from his political diary dealing with international affairs covering the period 1958-1984 as well as a number of documents spanning the period November 1941-December 1984.

This book by Comrade Enver Hoxha analyzes Albanian-Greek relations in all their contexts, both historical and current. These ties are also closely intertwined with various international events as well as with our country's position and stand toward these events.

The author's appreciation for the traditional fraternal friendship between the Albanian and Greek peoples as a factor of stability and peace in the Balkan peninsula is also reflected in the text. The book also contains writings devoted to Greek art, culture, and philosophy and to the cultural relations between the two peoples, both in ancient and more recent times. It also includes letters addressed to members of the Greek minority in our country and a number of other important documents reflecting our party's and Comrade Enver's correct Marxist-Leninist stand toward the Greek minority in Albania.

The publication of the book "Two Friendly Peoples" by the much-beloved and unforgettable leader of our party and people serves the further strengthening of sincere Albanian-Greek friendship.

The book has also been published in the Greek, English, and French languages.

CSO: 2020/173

ALBANIA

NEED TO INCREASE EXPORTS STRESSED

AU061553 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 23 Jun 85 p 1

[Editorial: "Let Us Increase Exports and Reduce Imports With a Militant Spirit and a Revolutionary Method and Style of Work"]

[Excerpts] The establishment of balanced exports and imports is an important victory for our economy. It is a result of the party's correct and far-sighted policy and of Comrade Enver Hoxha's teachings regarding the construction of socialism while relying entirely on our own efforts. But the growing demands for the further development of our economy and our country make it even more imperative that our workers, with the communists in the lead, should increase their efforts to raise the effectiveness of our foreign trade by further consolidating the import-export balance.

The possibilities for our economy to increase its exports are considerable. They key lies in increasing the range of products and in the regular overfulfillment of plans, with regard to both quantity and quality. A profound understanding and implementation of this task assumes particular importance in view of the deficits created in some enterprises and sectors in the current period, which indicate that the concern for problems pertaining to exports should be greater.

The fulfillment of export plans is an imperative for every enterprise, district, and branch of the economy. The growing needs and demands of the economy and of the country require that the existing possibilities of further increasing export resources should be better utilized than they have been to date.

The tasks concerning increased exports are indivisible from those concerning the reduction of imports. This is so not only because, as the party has stated, "there are no imports without exports," but also because a reduction in imports means a correct use of currency resources. The party's persuasive work must aim at the creation of correct concepts barring the road to the expenditure of foreign currency without criteria. Before seeking foreign currency funds, let us take a close look at what can be achieved relying on our own efforts. The point is that we should increasingly replace imported raw materials with those available in the country, as well as reduce the lists of machinery and equipment to be imported.

The fulfillment of the tasks set out by the party to increase the effectiveness of exports and imports is closely related to the work of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and its enterprises. Despite the improvements that have been noticed, practice and results show that the role of these organs in this question should be greater. The great tasks confronting us require a more revolutionary and flexible method and style in the work of all those engaged in foreign trade, as well as struggle against all manifestations of complacency.

CSO: 2100/44

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

MALILE'S MESSAGE TO LAOS--[18 June Greetings Message from Albanian Foreign Affairs Minister Reis Malile to Lao Foreign Affairs Minister Phoun Sipaseut]--
To Comrade Phoun Sipaseut, minister of foreign affairs of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR], Vientiane: On the occasion of the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the diplomatic relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the LPDR, I am pleased to convey sincere greetings and best wishes to you, Comrade. I am convinced that the friendly relations between our two peoples will be increasingly consolidated and enhanced for our common interests and in the interest of the struggle against imperialism and the reactionaries. [Signed] Reis Malile, foreign affairs minister of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania [Date] Tirana, 18 June 1985 [Text] [Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 1400 GMT 1 Jul 85 BK]

GREETINGS TO MITTERRAND--Tirana, 14 Jul (ATA)--The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia, sent the following message of greetings to the president of the French Republic, Francois Mitterrand: "The national day of the French Republic avails me of the opportunity in the name of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and in my name, to convey to you sincere greetings and to the French people the best wishes for happiness and prosperity. I wish that the friendly relations between Albania and France develop continuously in the interest of our two peoples." [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0815 GMT 14 Jul 85 AU]

MILITARY PROTOCOL WITH GREECE--Athens, 11 Jul (AFP)--Greece and Albania signed a protocol on military cooperation here today, in preparation for work to redefine their border, the Albanian Embassy said here. The protocol was signed for Albania by Colonel Enver Petai, who has been in Greece for 10 days at the head of a military delegation, and by officers of the Greek Military Cartography Department. Under the agreement, three joint military committees will be set up to inspect the border and determine the points where Greece and Albania need to remark the frontier. The document was the first protocol signed between the two neighbors for 45 years, and it is the first time Greek and Albanian officers have worked together on the border. [Text] [Paris AFP in English 1011 GMT 11 Jul 85 NC]

GREETINGS TO MOZAMBIQUE--Tirana, 25 Jun (ATA)--The president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia sent the following message of greetings to the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, Samora Machel: "The celebration of the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the People's Republic of Mozambique provides me with the opportunity to convey to you cordial greetings on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and in my name and to express to the friendly people of Mozambique the best wishes for progress and well being, as well as the solidarity of the Albanian people in their struggle for the defence of the independence. I express the conviction that the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries will constantly develop in the interest of the two peoples and of the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism". [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 25 Jun 85 AU]

ITALY'S COSSIGA CONGRATULATED--Tirana, 4 Jul (ATA)--The President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania Comrade Ramiz Alia sent the following message of greetings to the President of the Italian Republic Francesco Cossiga: "Your election to the high post of the president of the Italian Republic gives me the pleasure to convey to you sincere greetings and to wish you success in your important duty. I express the conviction that the good relations existing between Albania and Italy will continue to develop continuously in the spirit of good neighbourliness and to the benefit of our two friendly peoples." [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 4 Jul 85 AU]

TANZANIAN DELEGATION VISIT--Tirana, 3 Jul (ATA)--The agricultural delegation of the United Republic of Tanzania led by Christopher Liundi, member of the Central Committee of the Revolutionary Party of Tanzania and deputy to the Tanzanian Parliament, left our country. Over its stay in our country, the Tanzanian delegation paid visits to research scientific centers, to agricultural enterprises and cooperatives and social and cultural institutions in the districts of Tirana, Durrës, Shkoder, Fier, Gjirokaster and Saranda. During these visits the Tanzanian friends learned also of the achievements and experience of our country regarding the organization and planning in the agricultural economies and motor and tractor stations. In honour of the Tanzanian friends, the Minister of Agriculture Themie Thomai gave a dinner which passed in a cordial and friendly atmosphere. At the airport the Tanzanian friends were seen off by the Vice-Minister of Agriculture Stavri Rista and other comrades. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0925 GMT 4 Jul 85 AU]

GREETINGS TO BURUNDI PRESIDENT--Tirana, 30 Jun (ATA)--The President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia sent the following message of greetings to the President of the Republic of Burundi Jean-Baptiste Bagaza: "The celebration of your national day provides me with the opportunity to extend to you cordial greetings on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and in my name and to the friendly people of Burundi the best wishes for progress and prosperity. I express the conviction that the friendly relations between our two countries will develop constantly

to the benefit of our two peoples and of the struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism." [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0935 GMT 30 Jun 85 AU]

45TH VOLUME OF HOXHA WORKS--Tirana, 30 Jun (ATA)--The 45th volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works came off the press and was put into circulation. This volume contains materials belonging to December 1970-April 1971 period, most part of which are published for the first time. Among the main materials of this volume are: the closing speech at the 11th plenum of the CC of the PLA "The Health Service, and in Particular, Prophylaxis and Hygiene, Should Be Raised to a Higher Level", the discussion at the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLS "The Enhancement of Competences at Grassroots Demands a Change in the Method and Style of Work", the discussions at the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA "Without Organisation and Discipline We Cannot Have a Modern Agriculture", "Some Aspects of the Work of Lyua Organisations for the Perfection of the Moral Figure of the Youth", the notes "More Concern for the Supply of the Countryside", the speech at the plenum of the party committee of Lushnja District "The Homeland Is Defended Not Only With Weapons, But Also by Increasing Production", talks, articles, etc. The volume has an index. [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0735 GMT 30 Jun 85 AU]

GREETINGS TO MADAGASCAR'S PRESIDENT--Tirana, 26 Jun (ATA)--The President of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Ramiz Alia sent a message of greetings to the president of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, Didier Ratsiraka: "On occasion of your national day, the 25th anniversary of the proclamation of the independence of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, on behalf of the Albanian people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly and in my name, I convey to you the cordial greetings and to the friendly Madagascan people the best wishes for progress, well being and prosperity of the country. I wish that the friendly relations between our two countries develop constantly in the future as well to the benefit of our two peoples." [Text] [Tirana ATA in English 0800 GMT 26 Jun 85 AU]

DELEGATE TO NAIROBI CONFERENCE--Nairobi, 19 Jul--The USA and the Soviet Union have been strongly criticized for promoting insecurity in various parts of the world, while at the same time pretending to be supporting the interests of women. The minister for light and food processing [as received] in Albania, Mr Vito Kapo lashed out at the two super powers for using weapons and violence to oppress and enslave other nations. Mrs Kapo told the ongoing UN women conference that freedom, equality, peace and development will not be achieved unless the two world powers come to their senses and stopped interfering in the internal affairs of other nations. She said her country fully supported people fighting against oppression and seeking national liberation and social emancipation. Mrs Kapo added that women could only achieve their goals and participate fully in development if there was peace and stability in their respective countries and in the neighbouring ones. She expressed the hope that the Nairobi conference would formulate suggestions and recommendations which would be adopted by respective government for the benefit of women. [Text] [Nairobi KNA in English 1645 GMT 19 Jul 85 EA]

WRITERS, ARTISTS UNION MEETING--Tirana, 30 Jun (ATA)--The plenum of the Writers' and Artists' Union, which discussed some problems of musical creativeness for children, was convened in Tirana yesterday. Present were also the minister of education and culture, Teft Cami, the alternate member of the Central Committee of the party, Anastas Kondo and other comrades. Those present kept two minute silence in token of profound honour for the brilliant life and deed of the beloved leader of the party and people, Comrade Enver Hoxha. The report delivered by the secretary of the Writers' and Artists' Union, Feim Ibrahim, and the contributions emphasized the marked achievements in the musical creativeness for children. Tasks were also set to further enhance the ideo-artistic level and deepen the national character of the musical works so that they serve ever better the ideological and aesthetic moulding of the children. The plenum was also addressed by the chairman of the Writers' and Artists' Union, Dritero Agolli. [Text]
[Tirana ATA in English 1015 GMT 30 Jun 85 AU]

CSO: 2020/173

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

COMMENTS ON 'TWA HIJACKING, ITS END

AU031326 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Jul 85 p 7

[Milan Madr commentary: "Behind the Scenes of One Event; On the Abduction and Release of American Hostages"]

[Text] A group of passengers of the American TWA airliner, hijacked on 14 June on the Athens-Rome route, was finally released on Sunday. According to information from abroad, it was Syria's mediation that contributed to a desirable unraveling of the affair. The suffering of innocent people and the anxiety of their relatives and friends have thus ended. This regrettable case has thus been concluded from this point of view. But some weighty circumstances are surely worthy of more consideration.

First of all, it is beyond dispute that the methods of abductions--be it in the skies or on earth--and the holding of hostages are intolerable and unacceptable, no matter what moral or political arguments are used to justify these actions. These methods, which the entire international community rejects in its own interest, ultimately harm even absolutely just and legitimate demands, such as the release of unlawfully imprisoned Lebanese citizens in Israel in the case of the hijacking of the TWA airliner. The hijacking of the American TWA airliner certainly did no harm to the Israeli Government, although people have their seats in it who are responsible for the terrorist treatment of Lebanese citizens.

In the same way, we regarded as inadmissible the seizure of the American embassy in Tehran and the long-term captivity of American hostages there a few years ago, because this was evidently in contravention of international law. We held this position regardless of the fact that, owing to the exploitation and humiliation of their country by the United States in the years of monarchy, the people of Iran had a thousand and one reasons to harbor not exactly friendly sentiments for Washington, to put it mildly.

It is the right and the duty of every government to look after its citizens when they find themselves in a situation that requires its help. In the case of the hijacking of the TWA airliner, the American government made full use of this right. Following the hijacking, however, we have been witnesses of some acts of the American government which the international public could not pass over in silence.

First of all, as is known, the U.S. government has exploited the incident to unleash an unusually disgusting campaign against its NATO ally, Greece. Calls for a boycott of the Athens airport and of visits to Greece were heard instantaneously from the highest places, calls which have, by the way, borne fruit. Washington was utterly disinterested in the fact that, routine procedures aside, TWA itself took care of security checks at the Athens airport. The American government modified its "anti-terrorism" stick so that it would be able to clout over the head with it the present Greek government of the socialist PASOK party, because this government is not willing to support the hazardous policy of American imperialism.

On the other hand, Washington did not even lift a finger against the real perpetrator of large-scale terrorist actions, against the aggressive acts of the Israeli government. Terrorism was the main method used by the newly-established State of Israel to seize Palestinian territories and adjudged to a Palestinian state by the famous resolution of November 1947. In other words, it was Israel which brought terrorism to the Middle East on a mass and destructive scale and in increasingly cunning methods, proceeding in the closest possible cooperation with the United States, which has continued uninterrupted for 3 decades. He who does not remember or does not want to admit this should recall the murderous terror of the Israeli Army during its siege of Beirut 3 years ago.

More than 60,000 people died or were injured during the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. What did the American government do against the terrorist excesses of its allies if it is allegedly opposed to terrorism? Nothing at all, on the contrary, it took a direct part in them. For example, it was in Beirut that the Pentagon first tested the so-called vacuum bomb on a residential house. What did the U.S. government say as the Israelis deported thousands of people to the Al-Ansar concentration camp, which in Lebanon evokes the same associations as Buchenwald in Europe? And what did it say as hundreds of them were dragged away to Israel? Has anyone heard the American President, for example, speak out against this?

Let us visualize the opposite situation -- the deportation of more than 700 Israeli citizens from Israeli territory to Lebanon and their detention there, or the forcible abduction of more than 700 American citizens to a neighboring state by the army of another country.

The U.S. government would rightly view such an incident as an expression of terrorism. Are the yardsticks applying to Lebanese citizens jailed in Israel different?

The problem is the use of a double yardstick in American policy and its hypocrisy, which seems to be boundless. If President Reagan is opposed to terrorism, how is it possible that during his presidency guns from American battleships, a safe distance from Beirut, were shelling the Shi'ite suburbs of southern Beirut and villages beyond the city, like a hunter shooting ducks?

The American and Israeli governments all too often use the language of brute force, which -- as is shown by the example of the Shi'ite hijackers is contagious.

It is good that the TWA passengers will return to their families in the days to come. And it should be obvious that the vociferous misuse of their fate will in no event make the American government a flagbearer of the "fight against terrorism." It cannot do that. The traces of the terrorist acts and methods of the U.S. Army stretch from Nicaragua to Granada, the Middle East, Indochina, and up to the raped Pacific islands. Many, far too many innocent people, have fallen victim to these acts. Their fate was much less fortunate than the happy ending, certainly to the relief of everyone, of the unenviable drama of the American hostages.

CSO: 2400/513-F

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

END OF BEIRUT HOSTAGE DRAMA VIEWED

AU031117 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 2 Jul 85 p 7

[Boris Latta commentary: "Is All Well That Ends Well?"]

[Text] As we report elsewhere, the odyssey of more than 2 weeks of the American citizens hijacked to Beirut has ended with the release of the hostages. As the saying goes, "all is well that ends well." But for a simple reason, this saying does not apply in this case: The hijacking of the Boeing 727 of the American TWA was a welcome pretext for Washington to regroup its Armed Forces in the direction of the Lebanese coast and, together with its "strategic ally," Israel, to threaten with a "stick" the forces that oppose the imperialist-Zionist nation of a solution to the conflict in the Middle East. At the same time, Israel currently needs more than ever before, its "ally's help" in any form because it is finding it increasingly difficult to resist the growing activity of national liberation forces in Lebanon. The threats addressed by American political representatives to Lebanon, which did not come to an end even on the day of the release of the American citizens, are designed to eliminate the efforts of Arabs living in the region to bring about a real solution to the conflict, on the basis of the noninterference of the United States and Israel. It is precisely the personal conflicts provoked in Lebanon by Washington and Tel Aviv, their planned sowing of discord and incitement of religious frictions, that pursue a clear goal -- to divert attention from a true solution of problems.

This goal is also served by the operations of the collaborationist so-called South Lebanese Army, maintained by Israel, which terrorizes the population in the south of the country, in Tel Aviv's so-called "security belt."

However, all these facts do not prevent the American President from calling for an "uncompromising struggle against terrorists," as he has just done in connection with the Shi'ite extremists who hijacked the American airliner. But the truth is that, were it not for the American-Israeli interference in the Middle East, there would not be any plane hijackings, nor any other such actions. Of course, no one wants to vindicate terrorists. But the Shi'ites know very well that Israel can be influenced only by the United States, provided that Washington finds itself in a situation which directly affects it. As the IZVESTIYA commentator Stanislav Kondrashev put it, this is cruel logic,

the victims of which are innocent people. Yet the Shi'ites are using vis-a-vis their adversary his own language -- the language of brute force.

The reaction of the White House to the release of the American hostages does not portend any change for the better in this respect. "This is not a time for celebration," the American President declared on television and assured the viewers that the United States would continue to fight "terrorism." However, in the terminology of American diplomacy, anyone who acts against the political will of Washington is a terrorist. If the United States continues this "fight," it could thereby invite reactions such as plane hijackings.

CSO: 2400/513-F

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

LIBERATION THEOLOGY APPRECIATED, POPE DENOUNCED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Jun 85 p 5

[Article by Viera Hudeckova and Teodor Hudecek: "The Offensive Against the Theology of Liberation Continues"]

[Excerpts] As early as the end of the 1960's, the so-called Rockefeller Report expressed fears regarding the radicalization of the Latin American church and condemned the progressive positions toward which it was inclined. In 1969, a study entitled "The Institutional Development of Latin America--The Changing Catholic Church" was presented to the U.S. State Department. Simultaneously, the policy program of the Reagan administration in Latin America was worked out under the title: "A New International Policy for the 1980's." In this document, religious societies are condemned for allowing the penetration of ideas which are "more communist than Christian." In 1971, the CIA established the Institute for the Study of Religion and Democracy. The new organization, which has considerable financial means, coordinates the struggle of rightist forces in the United States against progressive circles among the clergy and finances various sects in several countries. A classic example is Uruguay, where the anticommunist church, entitled the Unification Church of Sun Myung Moon, owns an actual financial empire. It is not numerically large and its religious activity is at most symbolic. It is extraordinarily active in the ideological area, primarily in the fight against communism. Things in Chile are similar; Chile is virtually flooded with sectarian preachers from the United States. These demand from their followers absolute obedience not only to God but particularly to the fascist junta.

The object of the concentrated attack of the most reactionary forces, of the church hierarchy headed by the Vatican, has become primarily the theology of liberation, a movement which originated in Latin America at the beginning of the 1960's. According to its protagonists, the Peruvian priest Gustav Gutierrez and the brothers Leonard and Clodovic Boff, it is one of the most meaningful tasks and missions of the church to participate in the struggle against poverty, against social injustice and against exploitation.

The movement strives to analyze and understand the economic, social and political facts in developing countries and to remove the causes of hardship. It has acquired followers in a number of developing countries, in the United States and in western Europe. Because it recognizes the effectiveness of applying several of the principles of Marxist analysis of social phenomena, it is accused of absorbing the ideology of Marxism, it is accused of atheism and heresy. However, it is political circumstances which are decisive with respect to condemning and denying liberation theology.

Pope John Paul II has taken a particularly antagonistic stand against liberation theology. Over a span of several years, he has visited Latin America six times. On his first visit toward the end of January 1979, in opening the Third Plenary Session of Latin American Bishops (CELAM--III) he condemned the activities of theologians, rejected the participation of clerics in the fight against U.S. imperialism and the terror of the ruling oligarchies.

A significant turning point in the fight against liberation theology was the working out of the Instruction by the Holy Congregation for Doctrine and Faith Regarding Liberation Theology. Under the subhead "Serious Ideological Deviations Betray the Cause of the Poor," this instruction was adopted on 6 August 1984 and, following approval by the pope, was published on 3 September in the official Vatican daily L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO. It aroused extraordinary attention of both theologians--followers and opponents of liberation theology--as well as among publicists, representatives of the most varied political and social movements.

In the instruction, theologians are specifically reminded regarding the essence of the "true" Christian concept of liberation: "Liberation is primarily and essentially liberation from slavery, the root of which is sin, its purpose and final goal is freedom for the children of God, the gift of mercy. With the logic of consistency, it carries with it the gift of liberation from many slaveries of the cultural, economic, social and political type which are all derived with final validity from sin and form additional barriers which prevent people from living in harmony with their own dignity. Therefore, it is unavoidable for theological considerations regarding liberation--and that is unconditionally--that a clear delineation be made between that which is basic and that which belongs among the results." The essence of these considerations could be briefly and pregnantly expressed as follows: the Vatican is not opposed to liberation--primarily and chiefly it does not oppose liberation from the slavery of sin. The liberator here, however, is Christ and no one else; it was He who liberated us from sin and from slavish dependence upon body in which the soul of the sinner dwells. Since He liberated us, why then is there a need at all for a liberation theology?

According to the above document, it is not possible to localize evil basically and primarily in the deformed economic, social and political relationships, even though the existence of "unjust structures and structures giving rise to injustice, which require courage to change," are admitted here. However, they are a product of human activity, the effect and not the cause of the existence of evil. Its roots are in "free and responsible people" who must be turned around by the mercy of Jesus Christ so as to live and act in love with their neighbors as "newly created" individuals.

The instruction attacks Marxism in a coarse method. Marx is criticized for creating a politicizing concept of the world. It is true that it preordains the entire approach to research, analysis and planning of social activity. The document speaks of Marxism by saying that "ideological a priori precede the explanation of social reality. The dissociation of heterogenic elements which make up this epistemeological hybrid mixture thus becomes impossible and those who hope to gain only that which appears like an analysis are forced to simultaneously accept the ideology as well. Thus, not infrequently, it is precisely the ideological aspects which many liberation theologians borrow from Marxist authors."

The document strongly rejects the Marxist theory of the class struggle. It reportedly leads to the negation of the human personality of freedom and of human rights. That is why theologians as well as believers are specifically warned against participating in the revolutionary class struggle. "This voice of ours," the document says hypocritically, "must not in some cases be interpreted as the condemnation of all those who wish, out of a sense of magnanimousness and in an authentic spirit of evangelism, to respond to the priority granting of a voice to the poor.... It is, on the contrary, dictated by the certainty that the uncovering of serious ideological deviations must essentially end in betrayal of the cause of the poor."

We believe that it is not important what the instruction wishes to be or wishes not to be. It is important to consider what it has become, what role it played and can play in the future. First of all, it is a radical condemnation of liberation theology, a specific warning for all who would proceed along similar lines. It is a characteristic universally militant deformation of Marxism which changes into several sharp invectives and unjustified accusations. The polemic with Marxism and with the scientific-materialistic understanding of man and history is given a "conceptual" character in the document.

It is clear that the anti-Marxist militant intent of the instruction was motivated by efforts to present Marxism as being an antihumanistic ideology and a totalitarian doctrine and, thus, to actually create a broader background for condemning everything which would approach it even if only in appearance. Simultaneously, however, apart from these actually pragmatic dimensions, the document contains, primarily in those passages which speak of Marxism, the theoretical starting points of the political activity and ideological work of John Paul II, specifically his so-called "eastern policy."

It is known that virtually a few days after this document was issued the leading personality in liberation theology, Brazilian theologian Leonard Boff, was summoned to Rome for interrogation. According to reports which have leaked to the public, the entire "cauza Boff" proceeded in a relatively correct spirit. The Brazilian theologian said that the Congregation for Doctrine and Faith did not pronounce some kind of a condemning verdict on him, that many things must be thoroughly considered and more deeply thought through. The latest developments surrounding the Boff case, however, indicate that the period of waiting and meditation has come to an end. Some days ago, on 9 May, the Holy See announced that Boff is obligated to maintain a "period of silence," which will make it possible for him to "seriously consider" the results of disobedience for his book "The Church, Charisma and Power."

Similar difficulties, although by far not as extensive, are being experienced by the founder of liberation theology, G. Gutierrez. In September of last year, Cardinal J. Ratzinger summoned the complete Peruvian Episcopate to a conference in Rome and challenged them to subject the so-called radical elements of Gutierrez's views to criticism. Extensive discussions ended in fragmentation in the ranks of the Peruvian Episcopate when the bishops were divided into two opposing camps. Given such a fragmentation, the Peruvian bishops were capable of issuing only a compromising proclamation regarding the problem of liberation theology; and this did not come out until after 6 days

of personal discussions with Cardinal Ratzinger. A recently conducted public opinion poll showed, however, that liberation theology in Peru continues to have at least 1 million followers.

The pope conducted himself with relative moderation during the period of his visit to countries of the Caribbean region in October 1984 (Dominican Republic and Puerto Rico). In contrast to the above-mentioned document of the Vatican Congregation for Questions of Doctrine and Faith, his appearances did not show any open invectives against Marxism, no attacks on the just then ongoing dispute within the church. The pope contended that he, the church and its hierarchy will continue to stand "for the poor, for their longing for the urgent attainment of social justice." In doing so, however, the church will continue to reject force and hatred, and the so-called preferential treatment of the poor; the poor must not be conceived as a social class; the church must see man in his earthly and eternal mission and social reforms must not deprive man of freedom and subject him to atheistic or materialistic programs.

In his speech to the diplomatic corps in Lima, Peru, he once again introduced himself as a sworn anti-marxist. He criticized "totalitarian regimes" and ideological systems which make it impossible for nations to use the basic rights of deciding their own future. The pope encouraged conservative forces in the relatively lightly conservative Peruvian church and urged them to try to do with their own forces that which was not successfully accomplished at this synod of Peruvian bishops in Rome. He did not directly criticize liberation theology. However, in his speeches he took up a position against the theory of the class struggle and condemned the initiation of any forms of force, terror and repression. His attacks against liberation theory were masked by the appearance that only its most radical Marxist-oriented directions were being subjected to criticism. On the one hand he lavished words and challenges demanding that methods be found to solve the accumulated social problems and the position of the poor be improved. On the other hand was the evident effort to keep the church out of the struggle for the accomplishment of social reforms. The challenge to priests that they should devote themselves only to religious pastoral activity and to distance themselves from any political activity.

In his messages and individual speeches in Ecuador, he criticized the uneven distribution of wealth, he put himself in the role of defender of the landless and Indians, he demanded the implementation of agrarian reforms, a more just society without exploitation, but--along moderate lines, according to "God's will," without force and without political extremes. He condemned the liberation theology as an instrument of polarization of society, as the entrance gate for materialistic ideologies which were enemies of the church.

It is difficult to predict how the situation will continue to develop around liberation theology. It is not possible to expect that the church and theology, despite their nontraditional radical tuning, can become some kind of a new subject of revolutionary changes. In Latin America, no one other than the working class and the peasantry, led by a Marxist-Leninist party, can play this role. In any event, even this type of revolutionization which did not even leave such a conservative institution as the church unscathed, confirms

the objectivity and, primarily, the irreversible nature of the ongoing revolutionary processes. The growing criticism of liberation theology, accompanied by crass attacks against Marxism, strengthens the position of those who, in the name of the struggle against it exploit, torture and kill. The criticism of liberation theology objectively supports the theology of bloodshed, regardless of whether its originators realize it or not.

5911

CSO: 2400/471

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

IMPERIALISTS' MISUSE RELIGION AGAINST SOCIALISM

AU091404 Prague PRACE in Czech 6 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] The historical struggle for the very existence and further development of civilization knows no frontiers; it links people of good will indiscriminately -- citizens of various states and various nationalities, of various ideological convictions and religious faith, as well as citizens who are atheists -- in the interests of a future without the risk of a nuclear war, without an arms race and the militarization of outer space. Naturally this struggle cannot but influence religions and the churches, which are a vast, sensitive, and complicated part of the contemporary world.

It is sufficiently known how the reactionary imperialist circles are endeavoring to misuse religion and the churches in their plans against socialism -- and what a vast ideological and political potential they seek, and frequently also find, in them. However, on the other hand, it must be said that if the world peace movement is acquiring powerful scope, this is also due to the merits and active participation of many believers and their groups, associations, and individual churches. The end of the second millenium, the advance of modern science, the rational grasp of various social phenomena, and other influences all cause fatal notions about the inevitability of destiny, and thus also of peace or war, to disappear, even from the believer's minds, making them understand the causes of wars themselves. Self-evidently, there exist considerable differences between the masses of believers, and the churches in individual countries and on individual continents. Although there is no precise dividing line between the churches and their attitudes show a distinct differentiation, they represent an important phenomenon in the present world, which is all the more important since the peace endeavors of many churches and religions are gaining in scope.

One of the latest proofs of this is the course of the Sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly in our capital. More than 700 participants from a hundred countries from every continent, and the presence of 70 observers from 59 international organizations -- they include, for instance; the world's confessional unions, together with the World Council of Churches (WCC), the United Nations, the World Peace Council, and other peace, liberation, and nongovernmental organizations -- all represent a truly significant contribution to the struggle for the defense of peace and a truly broad representation of the clergy and the churches. No wonder this fact evokes serious alarm among the initiators and organizers of the warmongering confrontation line. Alarmed by the involvement

of a number of churches and clergy, the imperialist forces are striving in various ways to slander and weaken the influence and significance of the Prague gathering; and its organizer in particular, the Christian Peace Conference, has again and for the umpteenth time become in the last few weeks and months the target of attacks, attacks even from U.S. authorities. The familiar and often reiterated claim has reappeared: namely, that the Christian Peace Conference is, allegedly, a kind of international front organization supported by the Soviets; again one speaks about Moscow's influence and of subordination to Moscow, about the management of the organization according to a strictly pro-Soviet orientation.

The data about the composition of participants in the gathering prove by themselves that the authors of these claims are lying. But let us recall one thing: whenever certain church circles attack socialism, whenever they share and support U.S. policy, whenever they let themselves be abused for a U.S. crusade against communism, they always receive support and acknowledgement from Washington, they are called a significant democratic force, the spiritual support of the "free world," and so forth. But the moment they actively join the stream of those fighting for peace and progress, they become the object of hateful sallies, slanders, and attacks from the architects of the anticommunist campaign.

The judicious reader will himself draw his conclusions from this.

CSO: 2400/513-F

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

RENEWED HARASSMENT OF CATHOLICS IN CSSR

Paris LE MONDE in French 10 Jul 85 p 3

[Article by Waltraud Baryll]

[Text] Vienna -- The gathering of some 150,000 Catholics from all over Czechoslovakia on 7 July in Velehrad, southern Moravia, for the 1100th anniversary of the death of St. Methodius, apostle to the Slavs, came as a shock to Czech authorities--the more so since their representatives at the ceremonies, including Culture Minister Milan Klusak, were booed by the crowd (LE MONDE, 9 July). On the same day a pilgrimage to Levoca, Slovakia, to commemorate the same event brought together some 1000,000 people. In a telephone interview with the Austrian Catholic agency Kathpress, 86-year old Cardinal Frantisek Tomasek, archbishop of Prague, said he was "glad of the strong demonstration by Czech Catholics of their solidarity with the Church."

Denial of visas to several European bishops, among them Monsignor Jean-Marie Lustiger, archbishop of Paris, and opposition by the Prague regime to a visit by Pope John Paul II to Czechoslovakia--though requested by several thousand Catholics in a petition to the government--confirm that Communist Czechoslovakia indeed intends to continue its campaign of repression against Catholics, which it has pursued practically without interruption since 1950, the year of the break between Prague and the Vatican.

Of the 13 bishoprics in the country, 9 are vacant because Prague and the Vatican cannot agree on appointees. At least 400 priests are forbidden to celebrate Mass, and many parishes are vacant, particularly in rural areas. There are now about 3000 priests for 10 million Catholics, but at least a third are members of the Pacem in terris organization which is closely linked to the regime, and that appears to lessen their credibility among the faithful. The authorities are very strict in selecting candidates for admission to the only two seminaries out of 15 existing before the war which have not been closed. Religious orders were dissolved in 1950. The independent Catholic press has been suppressed and replaced by publications distributed by the Pacem in terris movement, which does not have the imprimatur of the Catholic church.

Following a March 1982 decree by Pope John Paul II forbidding priests to belong to political organizations, Cardinal Tomasek officially asked for dissolution of Pacem in terris. According to Church circles a large number of priests have left the movement, preferring prohibition of the exercise of their ministry to rupture with the Vatican; but many, particularly the older ones, have held back from such a decision, for fear of losing their government salary.

At the Pacem in terris congress last February the movement clearly revealed its priorities: to build socialism, and to strive for world peace and improved relations with the Vatican. That language, spiced as it was with harsh criticism of the "aggressive and imperialist policy of the United States," served only to confirm Church reservations concerning the movement, and somewhat further discredited its members in the eyes of the majority of Czech Catholics.

The clergy is not alone in its exposure to repressive methods reminiscent of the Stalin era. Among the faithful, house searches and seizures of religious books, followed in many cases by prison sentences, are current practice. Parents requesting school instruction in the catechism for their children must fear for their jobs. The same holds true for those who take part in pilgrimages.

On the eve of Cardinal Agostino Casaroli's arrival in Prague the Vatican's secretary of state represented the Pope at the Velehrad ceremonies. Several practicing Catholics were arrested by the police, it was learned from Church circles in Vienna. Among them was Professor Otto Madr, 67, who in 1952 was sentenced to imprisonment for "espionage in the interests of the Vatican." Released after 15 years, he was able to resume teaching theology until his rights were suspended in 1970. It is thought in Vienna that by arresting him the Prague authorities apparently wished to prevent him from making contact with Cardinal Casaroli.

The vehement official reaction to the planned celebration of the 1100th anniversary of the death of Methodius led Cardinal Tomasek to express surprise, in a letter addressed to President Gustav Husak, that "the alarm was sounded, as if the Republic were threatened." During a 5 July talk with President Husak, Cardinal Casaroli reportedly renewed Rome's demands concerning appointments by the Pope to fill the vacant bishoprics. The official statement issued at the conclusion of the meeting declares there was "an objective and frank exchange of views" on the points at issue. Such wording, ordinarily, is hardly indicative of progress.

6145

CSO: 2900/7

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

QUALITY IN SELECTION FOR MILITARY SCHOOLS STRESSED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 May 85 p 4

[Interview with Colonel Martin Klobusiak, Headquarters Eastern Military District, by Peter Ondera, editor of PRAVDA; date and place not specified]

[Text] The complex structure of our modern Czechoslovak People's Army cannot do without specialists in the most varied professions. The army's needs are met by a system of military middle and higher schools which offers young people a wide range of opportunities for lifelong applications. Just as in civilian schools, the interest in individual areas of study varies in the military schools. A summary of this year's applications shows that interest in studying at the Military Higher Aviation School in Kosice, at the Military Medical Institute for Completing Studies in Hradec Kralove, the Klement Gottwald Military Political Academy in Bratislava, the Military Faculty of the Higher Transportation and Communications School in Zilina, and the Faculty of Physical Education and Sport in Prague substantially exceeded not only the capacity of these schools, but also our army's needs. In connection with this, the editor of PRAVDA, Peter Ondera asked for more information from a worker at the Headquarters of the Eastern Military District, Colonel Martin Klobusiak.

"The schools just mentioned indeed cannot accept everyone interested, as that would be unnecessary," said Colonel Klobusiak, among other things. "There are, however, still spaces available at the Higher Military School for the Ground Forces in Vyskov, at the Higher Military Technical School in Liptovske Mikulas, and at the Antonin Zapotocky Military Academy in Brno. Those wishing to be accepted to these schools should apply as soon as possible at the closest local military administration, where the officials will explain to them in more detail the conditions and opportunities for study."

[Question] What other opportunities do the military schools offer?

[Answer] Secondary school graduates can apply for the artillery field of studies at the 1-year officers school in Martin. Students completing their basic education program have an opportunity to be accepted in the military gymnasias in Banska Bystrica, Moravska Trebova, and Opava or at the military institutes in Martin, Liptovske Mikulas, Nove Mesto nad Vahom, and Valasske Mezirici. In addition, the military institute in Zilina can accept those

interested in studies in the field of military unit economics and organization. By 1 February 1986 we will also open another 1-year program in newly designed studies at the 2-year officers' schools in Martin, Liptovske Mikulas, Nitra, Nove Mesto nad Vahom, and Valasske Mezirici.

[Question] The military profession has its own specific nature. It is demanding, but at the same time it offers great room for selfrealization. Making a decision is a complicated process and young people and their parents consider all possibilities very thoroughly. What factors would you like to underscore for those wishing to study in the military schools?

[Answer] The life of a professional soldier is demanding from a standpoint of time and sometimes requires the expenditure of physical and psychological effort. The professional soldier bears responsibility for his subordinates and equipment. It is simply not such a peaceful life as the majority of civilian professions. Moreover, not every officer or warrant officer can be stationed in a big city or close to his home town. The defense of our motherland requires us to perform duties also in locations which are particularly less attractive for young people in the opportunities for cultural and social life. And then to begin with, not everyone who is interested can become a professional soldier; this is decided by strict class and political criteria, successfully completed prerequisites for the studies, and the medical status. Aspirants should thoroughly consider all these factors together with their parents even before submitting an application for a military middle or higher school.

[Question] These are the demands and the requirements. What factors are in your experience the most attractive for young people?

[Answer] We of course have great interest in getting young, capable people and for the studies we create conditions for them proportionate to the demands. Students at military schools are fully supported financially and materially for the entire time of their studies. We provide them with free housing, food, clothing, health care, and extensive opportunities for sports, culture, and hobbies. I think that we have a very high quality command-educational collective in the military schools. We can say that in terms of the equipment in the teaching and training base at, for example, the higher military schools in Vyskove and in Liptovske Mikulas it is better than civilian schools with an analogous orientation. And I would like to bring up the attention with the teaching staff devotes to the individual student. Individual counselling and systematic attention to each student help the students to overcome problems in their studies, as well, and guide them in the scientific and professional activities, often with outstanding results. Of course, in addition to the professional information, the teaching staff strives to instill the student with knowledge from the field of psychology and management of military collectives and thus to give them a basis for mastering knowing how to work with people.

[Question] We are used to emphasizing that training for the military profession is a long-term process requiring systematic, goal-oriented actions. The

officials at the local military administration cannot carry out these tasks by themselves...

[Answer] Definately not. We also count on the support of the parents in particular in the interests of constantly increasing the demands in selections for military schools. The process of raising children can significantly make a difference when there is support of technical interest, an increasing of the physical hardiness of the lads, the cultivation of a certain resistance to life's little pains, and an awakening of competitiveness and the natural desire of young people to overcome obstacles. Unfortunately, we cannot be too satisfied in this area. This is shown by, for example, the lessening physical hardiness of our newcomers or students in the first year of military schools, their low level of independent decision making, etc.

[Question] What significance does the connection of the schools with the local military administration have for meeting the needs of the CSLA [Czechoslovak People's Army]?

[Answer] I believe that the schools are the decisive factor in influencing the students in their choice of professions. They have educational counselors and workers to help in selecting professions and the teachers are aware of the needs of the CSLA. We get good results wherever the actions of the military administrations and the teaching collectives are coordinated and concentrated. We can point out, for example, the comrades in the first and third districts of Bratislava, in the Bratislava-vidiek, Nitra, Povážska Bystrica, Rožňava, Prievidza, and Trebišov okreses and Košice city. On the other hand, our expectations are not being met in the second district of Bratislava and the okreses of Čadca, Dolný Kubín, Martin, Stará Ľubovňa, Poprad, and Bardejov. We are also not satisfied with the work in the Galanta and Dunajská Streda okreses which worries us particularly, since we are striving for the desired class and nationality composition of the command cadres of our army and thus count on members of other nationalities as well.

[Question] What explains the great differences between the results of efforts in the individual territorial units?

[Answer] The crucial role is undoubtedly played by the enthusiasm of the teaching collectives at the primary and middle schools and the utilization of the broad spectrum of opportunities for directing students in their choice of professions. Our experience confirms that the personality of the director or directress of the school is very important, depending on whether the head of the collective supports our needs and the members of the teaching staff devote attention to the problem. The role of the director is to get the collective going and to assign tasks. There are many possibilities -- meetings with military administration officials, excursions to military schools and units, meetings with former students of the schools or active duty professional soldiers, specific agitation work, etc. Of course, we are not after one-time or a kind of "recruiting" actions. One must proceed systematically and pursue those potentially interested in studies at the military schools over the long term, stimulating their interest in various

ways, and not just wait for the moment when they submit an application. We can find a good example of work in the Mirek Nespor Gymnasium in Skalica, as well as at the Second Primary School in Senica, at the Vazovova Street Primary School in Bratislava, the February Victory Street Primary School in Povazska Bystrica, the Gymnasiums in Brezna and Handlova, or the Secondary Mining School in Kosice, the Gymnasium in Velke Kapusany, and the Sixth Primary School in Michalovce. Of course, we cannot forget about the opportunities which so far have not been fully utilized of the National Front social organizations, especially Svazarm [Society for Cooperation with the Army], the Socialist Youth Union, the Revolutionary Trade Unions Movement, and the individual employment organizations. If I were to sum it up overall, we need to concentrate on influencing the social consciousness of our citizens and their attitude toward the professional soldier's work and life. Some parts of the populace often also show distorted and erroneous opinions. We do not call for any kind of glorification, but if we compare the attitude which, for example, the citizens of the USSR have toward members of the Soviet armed forces, it seems to me that we have been very delinquent in the upbringing of our young people.

6285

CSO: 2400/480

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

WOMEN'S CONFERENCE IN NAIROBI PREPARED

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Jun 85 p 3

[Excerpts from interview with Dagmar Molkova, deputy minister of labor and social affairs of the CSSR by Jana Drobova, editor of PRAVDA: "Equality - Development - Peace"]

[Excerpt] Ten years ago during the International Year of the Woman, which was announced by the United Nations in 1975, a conference convened in Mexico City that concerned itself with the position of women in the world. At its conclusion the participants announced a World Action Plan, the adoption of which represented a victory for progressive forces. This comprehensive document included the main tasks for the past decade at the national and international level, and followed from UN documents concerning women that had already been adopted.

Presently this decade is drawing to a close and the time for final evaluations and assessment has arrived. Preparations for the World Conference of Women which will take place this year in July in Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, are already in full swing. The role of preparations committee has fallen to the Commission for the Position of Women of the UN Economic and Social Council, by decision of the General Assembly. Czechoslovakia is also playing an important role in the commission's activities. The deputy ministry of labor and social affairs of the CSSR, Dagmar Molkova, has been elected to a second term as vice-chairman of this commission. Excerpts follow from an interview that she gave recently to our editor, Jana Drobova, in which they discussed what contributions the UN Decade has brought women and about preparations for her important undertaking.

[Answer] As early as the World Conference of Women in the middle of this decade it was clear that the major documents adopted in connection with the UN Decade had found a broad following in the world public. Government as well as nongovernment organizations studied them. They also influenced the adoption of legal measures in some countries, and granted women and men equal rights in economic, social and political life. In many third world countries they stimulated the formation of the first women's organizations. In more than one instance, however, one may speak of equality de jure, because practice is far from the ideal.

In Czechoslovakia, despite the fact that the issue of equal standing for women has been resolved both in theory and in practice, we have been devoting a lot of attention, as have other socialist countries, to the UN Decade. Party, government and social organizations have been working recently to resolve tasks connected with improving the working and living conditions of our women.

[Question] Which of the results of an international scale do you consider to have been especially important?

[Answer] The most important fact is that the women's issue has made it to the floor of the UN as never before. This first became evident during the approval of the long prepared Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which so far has been ratified by 56 member countries. Nor is it without interest that all the socialist countries are among these, while one could look for the USA, FRG, Great Britain, Holland and other capitalist countries on the list for a long time. In such countries the assertion and application of the principles articulated at the convention will clearly involve significant efforts by progressive forces.

The United Nations General Assembly has also adopted an important document - the Declaration of Increased Participation by Women in Strengthening peace and International Cooperation. Millions of women throughout the world are showing, often at the price of persecution, firing, and physical hardship, that they are aware of the importance of maintaining world peace, stopping the arms race and eliminating neocolonialism, racism, and apartheid.

[Question] Comrade deputy, you are also the secretary for the Czechoslovak Commission for the UN Decade for women. What results will you be presenting at the conference?

[Answer] In our country there is equality for women in practically all areas of social life. The percentage of women involved in state administration and management continues to grow, as does the active role being played by women in political and public life. Our commission is preparing information regarding these facts, as well as concerning the fact that in the past 10 years we have progressed further in improving the position of women. This kind of inventory is useful for domestic consumption as well. Clearly, the richness of life and the number of problems it brings can scarcely be reduced to bare numbers, although these have a lot to tell us as well. Czechoslovakia is among the countries with the highest female employment rates in the world. Women now account for 48.3 percent of the work force (in the USSR the figure is 49 percent, in the GDR 41 percent, in the USA 42.8 percent, in Canada 44.4 percent.) The high percentage of females employed increases pressure for the development of working conditions that recognize certain demands stemming from certain biological features of women, especially their role as mothers.

The assurance of quality child care is very important, especially those of a pre-school age, as well as of younger school children at those times when the parents are at work. This is one of the areas in which we accomplished a lot during the decade.

There are still many possibilities however for improving working conditions for women. I have in mind, for instance, improving the services that make housework a little easier, and others. There is no doubt therefore that even after Nairobi there will be plenty of opportunity to further improve the lot of our women.

9276

CSO: 2400/479

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

WOMEN MEET TO DISCUSS CHILDREN VICTIMIZATION

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Jun 85 p 2

[Text] On the occasion of the International Day of Innocent Child Victims of Aggression, which falls on 4 June, a meeting of women and youth, organized by the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Union of Women, was held yesterday at Benesov. Along with members of the Czechoslovak Union of Women and members of the Czechoslovak Union of Youth from Benesov Okres the meeting was participated in by women from developing countries who are working and studying in Czechoslovakia. The meeting participants reminded those present that efforts by the imperialist powers to dominate the world through open military aggression and economic exploitation in developing countries cost millions of innocent children their lives each year and cause others hardship and suffering, deprive them of the possibilities of education and force them to work for minimal wages for the profits of multinational monopolies. The meeting also remembered the activities and significance of world and Czechoslovak organizations which are fighting to improve conditions for children in regions threatened by aggression.

5911

CSO: 2400/470

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

YOUNG PEOPLE CONSUME MORE ALCOHOL

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 11 Jun 85 p 5

[Article by Bohumila Michalkova: "Attack on Health and Life"]

[Text] Almost every year we can read in the press how much we spend per year on alcohol. This datum is not flattering in any event. Not only because the sums expended are constantly growing but also because more and more women, young people and even minors are participating in the consumption of alcoholic beverages.

It is probably not even necessary to speak of the fact that alcohol has many serious criminal acts, many unhappy lives and many essentially "written off" people on its conscience. It is the cause of an innumerable quantity of tragic traffic accidents and disrupted families. As if this were not enough, it is attacking that which is most valuable, the health and life of our young people. And whether we like it or not, this happens frequently with the assistance of adults.

We all know that we have a law according to which young people under 18 should practically not come into contact with alcoholic beverages. However, what are the facts? In a word, unhappy. Roughly only one-half of all 15-year-old boys and girls are complete abstainers. At 18, only about 17 percent are abstaining....

Among us adults, the view prevails that a young person cannot be harmed by a glass of wine, a half a deciliter of hard alcohol or a bottle of beer. And this is a big mistake. When a boy or a girl discovers that alcohol temporarily causes various pleasant sensations, they attempt to repeat this experience and this is generally not possible without constantly increased doses. And so everyone who offers a minor alcohol in whatever form should be aware that while it may take up to 15 years for adults, a young person can become psychologically and physically dependent on alcohol in as little as 3 years.

When parents find out that their child has fallen victim to alcohol they frequently begin to place all blame on his friends or coworkers. They do not even want to hear about their own share of the blame. Doctors and sociologists, however, have a completely different view, based on research among school youth. These people clearly indicate that the tasting and drinking of

alcohol in early childhood is, for many, a generally customary matter. What more can be said when every third child of 2,500 questioned admitted to drinking beer 10 to 50 times a year and wine more than 3 times a year. Spirits are consumed once to three times a year by every sixth child. The reason must not necessarily only be a family celebration or another occasion. Minor respondents honestly admitted that in roughly 50 percent of the cases their parents gave them beer, wine or even spirits.

It is high time to think about this datum and to decisively reject the concept that "a dram in a cup" will not harm a young person. Even small doses can turn them into future chronic alcoholics even before they outgrow childhood, complete with all negative consequences. If we take into account the worsening of the state of health, it will surely once show up in poor working morale, in poor attendance and in conflicts not only with supervisors but also with fellow workers. In marriages, where one or both partners drink, there are no guarantees that the marriage will last. And once again the children pay the price. Statistics speak of around 5,000 marriages being threatened each year by alcohol. In children's psychiatric clinics and in children's homes, every fourth child comes from a broken family or one which has been disrupted by alcohol....

The consequences of alcohol, not only for the individual and the family but also for all of society, are so serious and stirring that none of us must remain complacent in their face. Primarily since, to save a young person, often relatively little is required. To eliminate one's own complacency, to reach out a hand and prevent him from falling into the mud of alcohol dependency with all its health, family and societal consequences. Even this is part of socialist morality and humanism in general.

5911

CSO: 2400/477

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

PEACE ORGANIZATIONS MEET

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Jun 85 pp 1, 2

[Text] Marianske Lazne (CSTK)--Yesterday in Marianske Lazne the dialog continued between representatives of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee and members of peace and antiwar organizations from the FRG. The discussions covered three sets of problems concerning the most pressing issues of the struggle for peace and understanding among peoples.

In the group which concerned itself with the possibilities and prospects of peace groups in the struggle against the arms race and for disarmament, social democratic party [SPD] member Martin Schilling made the following comments to a CSTK correspondent.

[Question] What did you expect from this meeting and how have these expectations been met?

[Answer] The main objective was to establish contact with peace activists in the CSSR. We succeeded in doing this and in developing an interesting dialog. We have learned each other's opinions, and this is the basic precondition for creating a peace movement on a common basis and for further cooperation. This meeting is, in my opinion, a very good beginning.

[Question] What specific forms of struggle are you involved in at home?

[Answer] One of the most discussed problems in the SPD is that of space weapons. The SPD as a whole is against these weapons, and there is an impact when a party of this size takes such a position.

[Question] What do you perceive to be the future of relationships between the peace movements in both our countries?

[Answer] The Bonn organization of the SPD has already been in contact the Czechoslovak Peace Committee for some time. We are interested in further expanding and improving these ties. And we can use just such an exchange of experiences to accomplish a lot on this direction. There are clearly a large number of objectives which we both have in common. These include the question of nuclear free zones, which we are discussing during these meetings.

Once we succeed in involving other peace organizations from the FRG we will have a very good base for the successful and effective development of cooperation.

Colonel Vladimir Remek, pilot, cosmonaut, hero of the CSSR and the USSR, participated in these meetings of the peace movements of the CSSR and the FRG. In an interview with the CSTK reporter he, among other things, stated, "This dialog has shown that our meeting has been useful and that it is necessary to proceed in the same vein in the future. We have gotten to know each other and the discussions have been very direct and open. These are people who want to fight for peace there, in the West, and this is worthy of our respect. Very interesting and unconventional views on these issues were presented here. I for one have come away convinced that there are forces in the FRG which view, just as we do, danger in American imperialism. This is especially true of recent plans to militarize space. These American objectives must be acknowledged as criminal. Today a war would destroy life on Earth, and it is therefore criminal, using the excuse of a defense initiative, to drag ones own people and all the inhabitants of the earth to destruction. Many voices have been raised here in unison against these plans, and this is only one of the issues on which we agreed fully."

The 2-day meeting of representatives of the Czechoslovak Peace Committee with representatives of peace and antiwar organizations of the FRG ended with a concluding assembly of the delegates. Vice chairman of the Central Committee of the CSSR National Front and vice chairman of the World Peace Council, Tomas Travnicek, stated at this assembly that the dialog had been successful for both sides, and that this was one of the first occasions when significant numbers of individuals from the peace movements of both countries had met. These movements met in an open exchange of views on the key issues of contemporary humanity. Travnicek personally emphasized that after the dialog must follow specific acts in the interest of our and future generations.

During the meetings many issues were discussed related to expanding the contacts between the peace movements of the CSSR and the FRG. There was an exchange of views on the involvement of youth, unions, the church and political parties in peace projects, taking account of the specifics of each country and the conditions under which peace forces operate. All delegates came out decisively against the arms race and the attempts of the United States to put weapons systems into space. They emphasized the importance of SALT and the current Geneva negotiations.

9276

CSO: 2400/478

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SCIENTIFIC CONFERENCE ON EMIGRANT LIFE OPENS

Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Jul 85 p 2

[Text] Prague -- A 2-day scientific conference on "the Czech and Slovak Emigrants and the Fellow Countrymen Movement (History and the Present)" was opened on Monday (1 July) in the Blue Auditorium of Charles University in Prague, on the occasion of the visit of our fellow countrymen from 20 countries to the Czechoslovak Spartacus Games.

The following welcomed the guests from abroad and also read opening papers: Professor Zdenek Ceska, doctor of law, rector of Charles University, and corresponding member of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; Professor Vaclav Rab, doctor of philosophy and candidate of sciences, dean of the philosophy faculty of Charles University; Professor Antonin Robek, doctor of philosophy and doctor of sciences, director of the Institute for Ethnography and Folkloristics of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences; and representatives of the Czechoslovak Institute of Foreign Relations and of the Slovak Matica [Slovak cultural institution].

Other scientific workers are dealing at the conference with the issues of Czechoslovak emigration and its history; with the first fellow countrymen's associations; with the emigration of glass workers in the twenties and thirties; with the participation of Czechs and Slovaks in the antifascist struggle; with Czechoslovaks in the United States [amerikanistika]; and with other aspects of the life and work of our fellow countrymen abroad in the past and at present. The conference also includes discussion statements by our visiting fellow countrymen.

CSO: 2400/513-F

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

WESTERN MEDIA COVERAGE OF METHODIUS MEETING 'DISTORTED'

LD091415 Prague in Czech and Slovak to Europe 2230 GMT 8 Jul 85

[Text] The Czechoslovak media devoted much attention to yesterday's celebrations of the 1,100th anniversary of the death of Methodius, which took place at the historical Velehrad in Southern Moravia. Czechoslovak television was already showing genuine shots from the festive gathering on Sunday 7 July. Czechoslovak radio was certainly not lagging behind either. All today's Czechoslovak press carries prominently displayed front page reports on the gathering. This is thus different from AFP's allegations to the effect that the authorities did everything in their power to prevent Czechoslovak press coverage of the celebrations of Methodius's death and to prevent mention of this occasion on the radio. On the whole, the hostile Western propaganda is often wrong. However, this fact does not apparently prevent it from attempting to put forward increasingly cunning lies and to discredit Czechoslovakia with them. Only prior to the 1,100th anniversary of the death of Methodius this propaganda kept asserting stubbornly that the memorial celebrations would not take place in Czechoslovakia, and that the Czechoslovak authorities would not give their consent. When they actually did take place, Western propaganda searched for new slander.

However, it is impossible to hide the reality. In the same way truth cannot be distorted forever. And so, if the anti-Czechoslovak propaganda claims on the one hand that the people were not allowed to take part in the Velehrad celebration, how can such a claim be equated with the fact that this propaganda gives on the other hand much greater numbers of the participants than those who really turned up? The answer is easy. Both claims are to serve the anti-communist propaganda and denigration of socialist Czechoslovakia. What for instance is the reason for the Western media's being silent about the fact that the transportation of people to the Velehrad celebrations was perfectly provided by dozens of buses and trains? What was, for instance, the reason for certain press agencies not uttering even a single word about the Czechoslovak official representatives that participated in the celebrations? Why is it that the passages expressing respect for the believers' affairs shown by a socialist state were specifically omitted from the speech made by Milan Klusak, minister of culture of the Czech Socialist Republic? We do not have to mention the warmth elicited by his words. Certain Western journalists have even concealed the speech of Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, secretary of state of the Vatican. And when they write about him their writings distort the facts. For

instance, they do not even mention the warm welcoming applause given by the believers at Velehrad yesterday to the message of the all-Christian peace assembly which is currently taking place in Prague. The speech of Metropolitan Filaret was given the same treatment.

All this cannot be explained in any terms other than as a deliberate intention to cover such a kind of journalism with an anti-Czechoslovak cloak and turn it into a component part of a slanderous campaign aimed against socialist countries. It is, of course, a fact that among the tens of thousand believers at Velehrad there appeared to be small groups of people who mistook the celebration of mass for a sports arena. Their disorderly actions caused great indignation among many believers, and also the Catholic clergy. This, however, went unnoticed by the anti-communist journalists. On the contrary, it seems that such disrespectful gestures of isolated groups in the presence of such distinguished guests such as Cardinal Casaroli, secretary of state of the Vatican, three metropolitans, and other high-ranking church dignitaries is in fact the only thing that they noticed at Velehrad. In reality, the overwhelming majority of believers came to Velehrad as guests of the pilgrimage in order to take part in a mass and official celebrations of the 1,100th anniversary of the death of Methodius.

As much as the disturbances of individual participants were unable to upset the dignified setting of the celebration, so this setting cannot be disturbed by the slanderous reporting of certain Western media either.

CSO: 2400/513F

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECH-POLISH COOPERATION IN FILM

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Jun 85 p 2

[Text] Czechoslovak-Polish film coproductions and cooperation in cinematography between both countries was the topic of yesterday's seminar which was organized in Prague by the Polish Information and Cultural Center, together with the Czechoslovak film industry and the Union of Czechoslovak Dramatic Artists. Leading representatives of cinematography, of artistic creative unions and film studios in Czechoslovakia and the Polish People's Republic participated in the seminar. Minister Jozef Kustra was also present. As Jiri Purs, the central director of the Czechoslovak film industry, stressed on this occasion, Czechoslovak-Polish cooperation over the past 40 years has been noted in many areas of culture and art. The rich and varied contacts between the cinematographic activities of both nations were evaluated by Jerzy Bajdor, the deputy minister of culture and art of the Polish People's Republic and director of Polish cinematography. The discussion was also joined by national artist Jiri Sequens, who is a member of the Presidium of the Union of Czechoslovak Dramatic Artists, and by director Jerzy Kawalerowicz, who represented the creative group "Kadr" from Lodz, and by other creative artists.

5911

CSO: 2400/470

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

REPRESENTATIVES OF ASIAN, AFRICAN NATIONS MEET IN PRAGUE

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 May 85 p 2

[Text] Adoption of the final communique on Saturday marked the conclusion of the meeting of the Presidium of the Committee of the Organization of Solidarity of Asian and African Nations (OSAAN) in Prague, which is dedicated to a new international information order. The document stresses the dependence between the battle for the establishment of a new information order in the world and the overcoming of social and economic backwardness in developing nations. The communique states, among others, that OSAAN will strengthen traditional contacts with the movement of the unaligned, with UNESCO and with all progressive and democratic organizations. In the adopted action program, participants of the meeting agreed to organize conferences and seminars regarding the international exchange of information, to exchange reporters between African, Asian and Latin American nations. The Prague session also dealt with the possibilities for publishing a new monthly OSAAN journal which would deal with political and economic problems in developing nations. At the conclusion of the 2-day meeting, a congratulatory message was approved for the chairman of the Organization of African Unity, Julius Nyerer, on the occasion of the 22d anniversary of the formation of that organization on Saturday.

5911

CSO: 2400/470

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

CZECH-MONGOL COOPERATION PLANS OUTLINED

LDO42135 Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 4 Jul 85

[Text] At the end of his stay in the Mongolian People's Republic, comrade Lubomir Strougal gave an interview to Czechoslovak journalists. First of all he answered the question how he evaluates the results of talks with the top party and government representatives of Mongolia.

[Begin recording] [Strougal] I think they have been useful and beneficial. Basically the talks were within the framework of the basic goals set by the treaty on friendship and cooperation of 1973 which was signed by comrade Husak and they were a sequel to the results of top-level talks in 1978 in Czechoslovakia. We touched upon all the questions -- all spheres. In the international-political sphere, I think we have identical views. We have exchanged views on a number of subjects: what to do next in the economic and social development, in the development of the political system. Of course, the Mongolian Peoples' Republic is a country with some differences compared with our country, but I think that the basic approaches are mainly identical and in this respect we have agreed on a further exchange of experiences, on further exchanges of visits, above all, the main questions discussed were on the scientific-technical, economic, and trade cooperation spheres, because Mongolia is our important partner -- not so much in volume, though we would like to increase this volume and want to increase this volume -- but mainly in the structure and needs of the CSSR economy and on the other hand also Mongolian partners in this sphere.

[Unidentified questioner] Comrade Premier, which tasks from this scientific-technical and economic cooperation sphere and in connection with this signed agreement, do you consider to be decisive?

[Strougal] The first sphere concerns mainly the footwear and leather goods industries. We are constructing factories here to process leather and manufacture footwear and leather goods. There are many experts here of various constructing organizations, especially from Gottwaldov. We have experts here who are organizing the installation of equipment, our equipment which we are supplying here and there are also people who are training Mongolian workers to master new techniques in the footwear and leather goods manufacturing which demand quality. We want to establish with cooperation, relations with Mongolia which will enable articles -- for example some leather goods and also in the sphere of footwear, some types of footwear -- to be manufactured here so we

can stop producing them in our country. For this we need our experts, who are working here and are working very successfully and with devotion, to introduce the prototypes and to teach fashionable styles to the relevant factories, so that production corresponds in quality to our market and our needs. And I think that in this respect we are being successful in some spheres and it is necessary to broaden these spheres. I think that trade should be more active because production and technological foundations are being laid well and the expert assistance is also good.

And the second sphere -- the sphere of minerals. Here, CSSR geologists have done great work. They have basically discovered the biggest Erdenet deposit: this is a copper deposit from where we get copper. We are trying to obtain more copper from Mongolia because we depend on this raw material in our advanced industry and naturally, we are also striving to obtain it. We have also agreed with comrades Sodnom and Batmonh, on new territorial localities where there is tin, tungsten and other materials, above all valuable materials which we need to import for the intensification of our national economy and naturally, Mongolia is a certain, prospective partner. Mongolian partners are very cooperative in this respect and now it is necessary to develop these deposits, prospect thoroughly, and of course, supply technology and then to import the products to our country. Thus, the sphere of mineral riches is the most valuable sphere for our needs, to develop the national economy, even though, as we all know, we are striving to reduce the material consumption per unit of production. Despite this we cannot do without some of these basic materials.

And together with this, it is necessary to stress that we have to focus on some things which are based here on local materials -- this means, above all, on wool. I think that our talks which have to be concluded with the coordination of plans -- Comrade Potac is to come here in the next few months -- and then with a long-term trade agreement. This can lead to a further advance in the mutual exchange of goods and this should be very interesting for Czechoslovakia from the structural point of view. [end recording]

CSO: 2400/513-F

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

JAKES ADDRESSES NORTH BOHEMIAN CPCZ MEETING

LD042213 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 4 Jul 85

[Text] The North Bohemia Regional Committee of the CPCZ today in Usti and Labem concerned itself with working out the conclusions of the 15th session of the party's Central Committee to apply to the conditions of the regional party organization and with the preparation of annual members' meetings and conferences.

The report contained a detailed evaluation of the fulfillment of tasks of the Seventh 5-Year Plan and preparations for the Eighth 5-Year Plan.

Milos Jakes, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, in the discussion emphasized the need for the integration of science and production, one of the most important demands of the present. At the same time he said that newly developed products must fulfill the criteria of low material and energy consumption and have high use potential. The goals which we set ourselves have to be compared with the needs at home and with export demands. It is not just a matter of speeding up the changes in the thinking and view of tasks which lie ahead of us but also a matter of overcoming carelessness and indifference in all sectors of life. At the close of his speech, Comrade Milos Jakes concentrated on the decisive goals of the Eighth 5-Year Plan which must bring a 3.5 percent increase in national income.

CSO: 2400/513-F

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

BRIEFS

TUNISIAN WOMEN'S LEADER RECEIVED--Today in Hrzan Palace in Prague, Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received Fathia Mzali, member of the Political Bureau of the Socialist Constitutional Party, minister for family and women's advancement of the Republic of Tunisia and chairperson of the Tunisian Women's Union, who is currently visiting the CSSR. They praised the results achieved in the development of multilateral relations between the two countries and underlined interest in their further deepening and broadening in the coming period. They noted that cooperation in the political, economic, scientific-technological, trade and cultural spheres has brought benefits to the people of the CSSR and the Tunisian Republic. They also exchanged views on the topical questions of the position of women and family in the two countries. They underlined that at the moment no task is more urgent than making every effort in the active struggle to preserve world peace and avert the danger of a nuclear catastrophe. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1400 GMT 28 Jun 85 LD]

DANUBE DAM PROJECT--Jozef Lenart, CPSL central committee first secretary and Peter Colotka, Slovak prime minister, today visited the Gabčíkovo-Nagymaros Dam construction project on the Danube. They inspected different parts of the construction project and expressed interest in the current state of construction work and measures in hand for implementing the planned tasks in the second half of this year, as well as the provision of necessary machinery and equipment at the construction site. [Text] [Bratislav Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 2 Jul 85 LD]

ALL CHRISTIAN PEACE SESSION--The sixth All-Christian Peace Assembly began its session today in the Palace of Culture in Prague. One of its main tasks is to support the efforts of church circles in all regions of the world in their fight for preserving peace and disarmament and in their struggle for just and friendly relations between nations. Some 600 participants from 96 countries of all continents, have come to attend the assembly. In addition, there are 70 observers representing 59 international organizations, including such worldwide religious groupings as the World Council of Churches, also the United Nations Organization, the World Peace Council, and other peace, liberation and non-governmental organizations. [Text] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 2 Jul 85 LD]

HAVLIN ON SOCIALISM EDUCATION--The Days of Education, a statewide meeting of almost 500 pedagogues and educational officials, opened at Spisska Nova Ves today. Josef Havlin, head of the CPCZ Central Committee delegation and secretary of the party Central Committee, stressed in his main address the role of education and qualifications as the source of economic growth and the significance of increasing the standards of education of all working people. He focused on the tasks of socialist education, which is the foundation for socialist consciousness and the behavior of children and young people. He said that education toward class socialist consciousness, firmness of conviction, and dedication to the cause of socialism is a government problem. When talking about implementing the new educational concept, he said that much more attention must be paid to cultivating personal qualities. In the next part of his address he discussed the role of the teacher, whose chief quality should be responsibility for work, measured by the generation of the future builders of advanced socialist society. [Excerpts] [Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 2 Jul 85 LD]

HAMAN ADDRESSES SKODA WORKERS--Comrade Josef Haman and other representatives were present at a party working Aktiv in Mlada Boleslav concerned with ensuring the prompt beginning of production of a new car. A joint socialist pledge by a number of enterprises and collectives will also contribute to beginning production successfully. In his speech at the close of the meeting Comrade Haman supported this active approach to the fulfillment of the program of a new generation of Skoda passenger cars, which was so strongly emphasized in April of last year at the 10th Session of the CPCZ Central Committee. It is one of the significant tasks -- not just economic but also political -- that our industry can produce a modern car with high-level technological parameters both for the domestic market and for export which will not be overshadowed by cars of leading world firms in this category. While giving attention to the manufacturing of the new car we must never slacken our efforts for good quality and reliability of the Skoda cars being produced today and a sufficient number of spare parts for them. [Text] [Prague Television Service in Czech and Slovak 1730 GMT 5 Jul 85 LD]

CSO: 2400/513-F

HUNGARY

CUBAN GUESTWORKERS EMPLOYED IN TEXTILE INDUSTRY

LD230350 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 22 Jun 85

[Editorial Report] Budapest Domestic Service broadcast a program on Cuban guestworkers employed in Hungary.

The program begins with an unidentified presenter introducing the subject of guestworkers by saying that the number employed in Hungary is about 10,000 today. He adds that on 18 June 85 the Presidium of the Textile Industry Workers trade union discussed the employment of the Cuban guestworkers in Hungary, but since the Cubans protested against the use of the term guestworkers, for some unknown reason, the term will not be used in the program.

After this introduction there is a report by Zoltan Farkas, Budapest Radio correspondent, containing a series of interviews with Cuban workers, Hungarian foremen, and a head of a department of the Kelenfold Textile factory of the Budapest cotton print industry enterprise, which employs 161 Cuban skilled workers.

Farkas first tries to speak to a few Cuban female workers and finds that having worked there for 3 to 4 years they speak Hungarian very poorly. He asks the foreman about this, and the latter readily admits that communication is a serious problem in work as well, and suggests that the noise in the factory prevents fast and easy learning and that the hostels also keep the Cuban girls apart.

According to Alszlo Alpar, a head of the organization department of the factory, a "big textile combine is being built with Soviet help in Santiago de Cuba; these girls are assigned there, for within the prescribed staff level--that is, the contingent--we must precisely set out the work areas for which we conclude labor contracts with the girls."

Farkas overviews the Cubans' training and salary system: For 6 weeks after arrival the Cuban guestworkers spend 4 hours at work and 4 hours in school learning job skills and the Hungarian language. After that they work in three shifts under supervision, learning on-the-job. Since 60 percent of their wages are immediately transferred to the bank accounts they hold in Cuba, the guestworkers receive about 2,000 forints, while

Hungarian workers are paid 3,000-4,000 forints per half-month. The 60 percent is taken after old-age pension and national insurance contributions are deducted from the gross wages.

According to the economic director of Budaprint, "the employment of foreign manpower is worth it, because there is no available labor in the country, and also because it is still cheaper than importing the goods produced." On being asked who is more expensive for Budaprint, foreign or Hungarian workers, he says that "it is a classic question. If the wages of the Hungarian worker could be freely adjustable, then naturally the extra income paid to the Hungarian worker for extra output means that he would probably be cheaper." He adds that "the grading is roughly that the cheapest are the classically employed Hungarian workers; then come certain imported workers--certain ones, because it depends on nationality too--let us say, the Cubans. The employment of the enterprise's own workers in the form of economic collectives is the next grade--a somewhat more costly means of expanding production. Then comes working the enterprise's own workers in overtime. Then in reality, comes the working out and use of a wage system which provides incentives for extra output. With this, extra output can be achieved in the same way as is achieved with the other means mentioned."

Farkas jokingly remarks that when there is a Cuban national holiday, it must be respected according to an agreement, and over half of the spinning works must be stopped. He notes that worker fluctuation was such that in the years since 1979, 20-25 percent of the machines had stood idle because of staff shortages. Then in 1981 an interstate agreement was reached by the Office of International Technical and Scientific Cooperation according to which Budaprint would employ Cuban workers with the aim of teaching them job skills. He adds that the Cubans cannot participate in economic work collectives, but they can work overtime.

A foreman then says that he believes the Hungarian workers in Budaprint appreciate the foreign workers, because the Hungarians no longer have to do such strenuous work or work overtime.

The economic director of Budaprint says that the enterprise is looking for ways to reduce labor costs by transferring technology to the Third World, where there is cheap labor; but that it is still necessary to employ imported labor in Hungary. He adds that there are some Vietnamese guestworkers employed in one of the factories of the textile industry, but that this depends on interstate agreements which are not yet completed, as far as he knows.

CSO: 2500/471

POLAND

PRON ELECTION MANIFESTO PUBLISHED

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 2 Jul 85 p 3

[Text] Citizens,

On October 13 we will be electing deputies to the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. We shall elect the people who, in our name, will form the supreme organ of state authority and decide on matters of crucial importance for the nation and the state. We shall spend the period before the elections discussing the important problems of society in general and of every citizen. Let us consider jointly the complex problems of the present day, let us think about the future of our country.

Fellow countrymen,

The time of the most acute conflicts is over, Nevertheless, much rancour and many misunderstandings have remained in public consciousness. Today is the time to be above them, to reach agreement on matters of supreme importance for Poland and to concentrate on the complete implementation of the principles of socialist renewal.

We declare ourselves in favor of:

- * the effective playing a leading role in society by the working class, in deepening the worker-peasant alliance and in enriching the commitment and active support of the intelligentsia and all working people;
- * the strengthening of the state, the broadening and improving of the democratic methods of the exercise of power and the ensuring of efficient work of state institutions and self-management organizations;
- * the general and principled application of the adopted principles of personnel policies and the guaranteeing of openness, comprehensiveness and effectiveness of personnel decisions which should promote only the best candidates;
- * the modernization of the economy and in particular the acceleration of scientific and technological progress;

* the shaping of responsible, active and creative public attitudes and of concern for Poland's good name and the dignity of our nation and state;

* the creation of ever better conditions for a comprehensive cultural and intellectual development of individuals and for the general public access to culture;

* the raising of sensitivity to the good of families and educating the younger generation; the showing of concern for the moral condition of society, for cultural interpersonal relations and for showing kindness and providing assistance wherever necessary;

* the observation of the principle that the law is the same for everybody; demanding all citizens to observe the existing laws, norms and regulations and guaranteeing the sense of personal security to all citizens.

We declare ourselves against:

* attempts to weaken the state, all cases of anarchy and arbitrariness and all violations of the rule of law, of peace and public order;

* bureaucracy, inflexibility and soullessness, against disregarding public opinion and abusing one's position and against standing on one's dignity and arrogance;

* laziness, low labor discipline, bad management, extravagance, defective production and wastefulness;

* parasitism, larceny, coteries, corruption, cunningness and favouritism;

* self interest, exploitation, profiteering and all those unjustified incomes which are not a product of honest, efficient work serving public needs;

* degradation and spoiling of the natural environment, against tolerating dirt and mess, against disregarding the demands of hygiene and labor safety;

* alcoholism and drug addiction which have dangerous moral and social effects and are hazardous to health.

There must be no toleration of all that is harmful to the nation and the state.

Citizens,

We are not beginning from scratch. On the 40th anniversary of socialist Poland we are an industrialized and urbanized country with access to the sea. Poland's western and northern territories were recovered and developed. Revolutionary reforms and socialist transformations freed society from social injustice, unemployment and illiteracy. Great civilizational progress has taken place in both urban and rural areas. We are an educated nation capable of making fruitful efforts. We have clearly reduced the distance between Poland and the highly industrialized countries.

Poland's human, material and industrial potentials and this country's geographical position and defensive capabilities play an important role in the international balance of forces. They are also significant factors in European security. The Poles' patriotism and Poland's economic stability, internal order and agreement and ties with the socialist community constitute strong cards in consolidating this country's international position.

The alliance between the Polish United Workers Party, which is the leading political force, the United Peasants Alliance and the Democratic Alliance and their cooperation with the associations of lay Catholics and other Christians are reflected by the coalitional exercise of state power. The socio-political activity of people who are not in the party has grown alongside their participation in public life.

The Patriotic Movement of National Revival has developed. It has continued to enrich the best tradition of cooperation of party members and those who are not in the party, of believers and non-believers, of people representing different public groups, generations and professions. This fact has created a broad plane for discussion and cooperation involving all citizens who observe the constitutional principles of Poland's system. The Patriotic Movement of National Revival will continue to make efforts to attract those who have so far hesitated and stayed aside. The PRON declares its readiness to enter into a dialogue with all those who have, so far, refrained from supporting its program.

Trade unions and farmers' organizations are consolidating and are extending protection over the broadly conceived interests of working people. Youth unions, women's and war veterans' organizations, associations and other civic organizations have developed their activities.

Citizens' electoral rights have been extended. People's councils and local self-government bodies' jurisdiction has grown. Self management of many social and occupational groups has developed. The practice of public consultations has been promoting correct decisions and their understanding by the public. The struggle against abuses of law and of the principles of social justice has been more and more efficiently waged by those bodies assigned to do so, including the worker-peasant inspectorate, lay judges, misdemeanor courts, conciliatory commissions and public control organizations. The establishment of the Constitutional Tribunal and the Tribunal of State has enriched the system guaranteeing that the rule of law is observed in Poland.

Fellow countrymen,

The good of the nation is our supreme goal. May it be fruitfully promoted by cooperation of citizens with different world outlooks, by cooperation between State, Church and other religious unions. This cooperation is an important part of national conciliation and evidence of the durability of Poland's religious policy. It also contributes to enriching the nation's moral, public and material values.

We have been protecting the durability and values of Polish families which are the fundamental, educational and integrating social cells. Let us provide Polish women with increasingly good conditions for carrying out their family mission, for drawing satisfaction from professional work and from participation in public life. Let us guarantee to children increasingly healthy living conditions conducive to their general development. Let us show due respect to war veterans and retired workers, let us assist them in their life and show more kindness and greater concern for the elderly and disabled people.

May the activity of youth develop. Professional skills, energy and unbiased approach characteristic of the young are what Poland vitally needs, It is only in Poland, in their own country, that they can fully serve their nation and only here that they can enjoy the opportunities to satisfy their ambitions and needs. It is only here that they can participate in the exercise of power and in the modernization of the country. Promotion policies pursued in Poland should reflect this fact. May young deputies contribute to the Sejm the best values of their generation, may they express this generation's strivings.

Citizens of the Polish People's Republic,

Poland, a member of the socialist community of nations, is among states and nations amicably disposed towards it. Secure borders and beneficial economic bonds are guaranteed by our alliance with the Soviet Union and with other socialist countries, by our membership in the Warsaw Pact and in the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Our alliances stood the test of life in times of great ordeal. We saw who was a stable and reliable partner, who helped and continues to help us in overcoming our difficulties.

We must counteract attempts to use Poland and the Poles in a policy of confrontation which threatens world peace. We have not given in, nor are we ever going to give in, to imperialist pressures. We are a sovereign state which resolves its own affairs in accordance with socialist Poland's interests.

We are firmly opposed to the arms race and to all attempts to seize our territories. We cooperate with forces of peace and progress. We want to live in friendship with all nations.

Never again shall Poland stand alone! Never again shall it be weak! No more terrible wartime agony! We are repeating these warnings today, 40 years after the victory over Nazism.

The great accomplishments, produced by many generations, must not be forgotten nor may their importance be played down. Relying on them let us build a great Poland, a Poland with an equitable system, a hard-working and hence affluent Poland, a Poland capable of boasting remarkable accomplishments in science and culture, a Poland with an adequate defense potential, with our people's army standing guard to the nation's independence, strength and security!

Citizens,

By 1990 our nation will have grown to 39 million people. We must work and act in such a manner as to multiply steadily our national wealth--the foundation

of our national existence and growth, the only source of improvement in standards of living, and the prime indicator of Poland's rank in the world.

Honest and skilled work is our supreme duty, an enormous reserve potential, even a point of honor. Even minutes have their importance; wasted at thousands of workplaces, they result in huge irretrievable losses. Whoever has no respect for work does not deserve respect for himself. Respect should be shown to the best employees! Let such people become examples to emulate!

Let the hard work of our hands and brains create our present life as well as our future!

Never again shall Poles live beyond their means, off credits! Never again shall Poles indulge in illusions and empty promises!

In the upcoming general election let us express our wish that the 9th Sejm should be guided by the principle of balanced socio-economic growth and that it should devise policies ensuring ever greater satisfaction of the Polish people's material and cultural needs.

The following factors are necessary for this purpose:

- * to implement the reform consistently;
- * to raise productivity and quality and to remunerate it adequately; let us pay substantially more for better effects and substantially less for worse effects;
- * to encourage the workforce, self-management bodies and managerial staffs to display initiative and enterprise;
- * to bring down systematically the inflation which imperils the population's living standards;
- * to resolve soon the housing problem by improving work and repair organization at building sites, to increase production of indispensable materials, to introduce more remunerative technologies, to make better use of existing production capacities, to ensure better maintenance, and to take advantage of all initiatives launched by housing cooperatives, enterprises' own building companies as well as private builders;
- * to back the expansion of services and small-scale business enterprises in all sectors of the economy; to pursue a socially acceptable and stable policy toward the non-public sector;
- * to expand the network of efficient social services, health services, educational entertainment, distribution, mail and communications facilities and municipal services;
- * to strengthen the protection of the economically weakest population groups;

* to strengthen the protection of Poland's natural amenities; to restore equilibrium between economic growth and the condition of environment along with the utilization of natural resources;

* to strengthen economic bonds with Comecon countries and to multiply benefits arising from international specialization;

* to enhance the Polish economy's exports potential;

* to resolve gradually the foreign debt problem.

We want the problem of feeding the nation resolved once and for all. We are able to feed ourselves! Let us do everything to achieve self-sufficiency in food by 1990!

We must do the following things:

* pursue stable agricultural policies, ensure equal treatment to private, state and cooperative farms and make sure that agricultural production is remunerative enough;

* modernize farming and food-processing industries, expand storage facilities for agricultural produce, improve supplies of farming machinery, implements, spare parts, fertilizers, pesticides, and water, and take up the big tasks in land reclamation and in modernizing the power-supply network in the countryside;

* raise living standards in the countryside on a higher cultural level and make work on farms easier, especially for women.

Let us use every patch of land scrupulously and productively! Land is our national capital. Its proper utilization is the duty of all people working on farms and in companies servicing farmers. Let us do everything to prevent any waste of this capital!

Citizens,

We expect the 9th Sejm to take up great tasks in the area of national education.

We regard the following as the most important tasks in this respect:

* enriching educational and teaching models in a spirit of public ideals of socialism in schools, colleges and all other educational facilities; winning broad public backing for the whole national educational system;

* providing all young people with equal opportunities for starting independent lives; finding and supporting young talented people;

* improving conditions at schools and colleges, especially with a view to reducing differences in this respect between individual communities, regions and localities.

For a resolution of these tasks we attach great importance to the PRON initiative for a National Project for Backing the Schooling System which has won wide support from the public. Care of the young is a primary duty of all of us.

We want the 9th Sejm to take proper care of Polish science and technology. The world is moving ahead. We must not lag behind. We must vigorously take up the great challenges of the modern world in the areas of technology, energy, ecology and demography.

Poland's intellectual elite is a match for the world's best minds. We should expand and consolidate this position. We must be more confident in our people's possibilities, aptitudes and skills. While bravely using the accomplishments of others, let us rely primarily on Poland's own science and technology! Let us encourage and reward generously--both financially and morally--all authentic scholarly accomplishment, all innovation and invention! Let us promote high quality, innovative techniques and enterprise in production and work organization! Scientific and technical progress is a major platform for national reconciliation. Let us usher Poland into the 21st century as a modernized vigorous country! Let this aspiration unite the old and the young in our nation!

We recognize and respect pluralism of views, methods and styles in scientific and cultural works, in the arts, and in public community work, provided it serves well the interests of the people and the socialist state. We want the 9th Sejm to inspire actions supporting the development of national culture and the promotion of its values both at home and abroad. We want it to show keen interest in the nation's material and spiritual heritage and to beget a movement which would rally scholars and artists around the great national tasks.

Fellow-Countrymen,

By going to the polls you reassert your role of hosts of your own country. Let us all take advantage of this right! Let this be a valuable and memorable event in the lives of the youngest voters who will go to the polls for the first time.

Let us take advantage of the possibilities furnished by the electoral law. Let us join actively in the election campaign. Let us convene at citizens' consultative meetings to discuss matters of fundamental significance for the Poland of today and for its future. Let us get acquainted with candidates, their civic and personal qualifications. Let us back those who best combine intellectual power and expertise with diligence and dedication to the public interest, those whom we trust, those who can best stand up for the interests of voters and the state. Let us make sure that electoral lists will include names of people who can strengthen the Sejm's position in the system of state organs. Let us deliberately and judiciously elect those candidates for deputies who deserve the public's trust more than others!

Voters,

Let us go to the polls to elect the Sejm of a secure, prosperous and law-abiding Poland!

Let us go to the polls to reaffirm the best of all roads toward the future of our socialist motherland--Poland!

National Council
of the Patriotic Movement for
National Revival

Warsaw, June 27, 1985

CSO: 2020/166

POLAND

JERZY WIATR'S THEORIES ON CLASS STRATIFICATION

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 23, 8 Jun 85 p 10

[Article by Jerzy Wiatr: "Classes and Strata in Polish Society"]

[Text] In the ideological controversies of the early eighties the problems of the class structure of our society occupied, and continue to occupy, a leading place. The theoretical conceptions which dominated Polish social sciences in the sixties and seventies found themselves under a barrage of criticism (not always justified). Sociology once again found itself under the pressure of images of the common consciousness, particularly that which in 1980-81 was backed by the authority of "novelty" and "nonconformism", which was nothing new in its history.

It is worth taking a calm look today at the discussions of those days concerning the class structure of Polish society, discussions which still go on, and to search for answers to the question what in those discussions was a valuable contribution to the development of the theoretical knowledge about our society and what needs to be revised.

In Polish sociological publications of the past few years three positions appeared, revising the existing conceptions of class structure and of the significance of class divisions in Polish society.

The first position, which has its support above all in empirical sounding tests, is expressed in the conclusion that socioeconomic divisions (including divisions of class and stratification) do not explain the revealed differences of opinion. The indirect conclusion is, therefore, that they do not have a major impact on the character of the revealed contradictions and conflicts that take place. A more important circumstance would be the position in the organizational structure of the economy and state, defined as the relative remoteness or closeness to the centers of power. This view is expressed by, among others, the authors of the study entitled "Poles 1981: The Discerning of the Crisis and Conflict," which is being prepared by a team from the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology of PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences], headed by Prof Wladyslaw Adamski.

It must be taken into consideration, however, that such conclusions are drawn in the aforementioned research only from sounding opinions and are of significance only with regard to the opinions then expressed. One can, in conformity with the tradition of Marxist thought and with the contemporary directions of social psychology, adopt such an interpretation of these data, according to which they testify to the "false consciousness" of the people tested, who did not notice divisions of a certain type and were fascinated in 1981 by the very broadly popularized confrontation of "the authorities and society." In such an interpretation, the results of the above studies are important, but in determining the state of the consciousness of the time rather than to establish the state of the real social relations.

"The New Class and Other Conceptions"

The issue looks different in the case of theoretical views, which without limiting themselves to the reporting of the research on the consciousness, formulate the opinion that in the social structure of socialist societies in general, or in the structure of Polish society, the class of political and economic managers must be distinguished as a separate social class. This view is not new and its transfer to Polish ground cannot in any way be recognized as a scientific discovery. It rather is an interesting example of the reception of theoretical views long ago formulated outside Poland, which in Polish science had many a time been critically discussed and rejected. Favorable to such reception was the political climate of the early eighties, and particularly the sharp criticism of the pre-August relations, which sometimes turned into an total criticism of the socialist system as a supposedly "totalitarian" one.

In that criticism the view of the "managers of state property" as a "new ruling class" plays an unequivocally political and ideological role. It is an intellectual tool of the total criticism of the system, an ideological justification of the new "revolution." In the extreme version, formulated above all by Leszek Nowak, this conception has a dichotomous form of opposing the new ruling class ("the class of triple lords") to the whole rest of society, i.e., "the people."¹

In a moderate version, on the other hand, the view appears according to which there are many social classes, the "managers of state enterprises" among them (besides the "middle classes," workers, "peasants" and the "petit bourgeoisie").² In the formulation of Hryniewicz, one can see a considerably greater concern than in Nowak for a greater depth of the theoretical conceptions. There is also no attempt to place a theoretical structure on the agitational and political implications. For this reason his attempt to create a new conceptualization of the class structure in the conditions of the building of socialism merits a serious discussion. The central weakness of this conception is that it expands excessively the concept of ³"management" and turns this concept into a category defining class membership.

The third position on the question discussed here is the view--very clearly referring to the tradition of Marxist-Leninist thought--according to which there took place in Poland a deformation of the class structure of the seventies, with resulting "antiworker" trends in many domains of the state policy, and with a transformation of many representatives of the power apparatus "into members of the bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie."⁴ According to this conception, the transitory, mixed character of the class structure, characteristic of the transition from capitalism to socialism, was used by the bureaucratic apparatus (or its part--the author is ambiguous here) for the purposes of individual and group enrichment and entrenchment in the class of bourgeoisie or petit bourgeois. As a consequence of such a view of the character of social contradictions, Tittenbrun postulates a democratization of the socialist structure of the state which would grant them, above all, a "class" and "worker" character.

Sources of Social Conflicts

This stand seems to me to be relatively the most accurate, although I believe that in its analysis of the sources of the social conflicts and crises in Poland it is excessively onesided. As opposed to the stands previously referred to, it fully accepts the view that in the transitory period from capitalism to socialism, the class divisions left over from the social structure inherited from capitalism, still remain. It also emphasizes, more than used to be done in Polish sociology prior to 1980, the considerable force of these remnants. This I see as highly debatable.

Is the intensification of political conflicts in Poland really the result and reflection of slow progress in the transformations of the class structure?

To this Tittenbrun gives an answer which, though theoretically thought through, is nonetheless debatable. He believes that the essence of the question was a specific deformation of the class structure consisting in the blending of the bureaucratic apparatus with the moneyed classes. This stand could explain both the deformation of the politics (in the "antiworker" direction) and a social sensitivity to the problems of new social inequalities stemming from the privileges of people exercising power.

One can, however, express some doubts regarding this view. First of all, it is not obvious that the forms of transformation of a bureaucrat into a petit bourgeois or a capitalist, described by Tittenbrun, necessarily require the existence of private property of the capitalist and petit bourgeois classes. A percent of the income transformed into property, the possession of high income, and the pursuit of "quasi-capitalist relations" by, for example trading in automobile coupons or construction lots--and these are examples quoted by the author--can exist also where not one private owner of the means of production remains. The condition which allows for such operations is the existence of the goods and money economy, which in its turn maintains itself also in the conditions of a built socialist society.

By the same token, something other than only a transitory character of Polish social structure comes into play, namely, the still unfinished process of socialist transformations. Anyhow, Tittenbrun takes this circumstance into consideration too. Continuing this, one can formulate a second doubt. Is it really the deformation of the class structure, emphasized by Tittenbrun, which was at the basis of the crises? The author himself cautions against a fatalistic view of the inevitability of the crises. It becomes a key issue to find the causes that brought about the accumulation of contradictions and conflicts. Were they social inequalities and injustice? I think that those played a considerable role, but were not the main cause.

The main cause was the economic breakdown, the failure of the economic and political systems to satisfy social needs and aspirations; this, anyhow, was connected with a building up in the seventies of the legitimization of the political system on announcements of a "dynamic development" and a fast growth of the level of living. It is not at all obvious that the otherwise highly faulty moves on the part of the party apparatus at that time, that were offensive to social justice, were the cause of the economic breakdown in the second half of the seventies. These causes lay somewhere else: above all, in the unreformed economic structure that was excessively centralized and insensitive to the economic calculus, and also in the carrying on of an irresponsible policy of stimulating the economy by increasing debts, investments not based on the calculus of profitability, and by the growth of the population's income unconnected to the growth of productivity.

To ascribe all these phenomena to the fact that deformations of a bourgeois-petit bourgeois type occurred, is a conclusion too far fetched and not very justified from the point of view of logic. By the same token the analysis of the sources of social conflicts and crises presented by Tittenbrun, though in many parts valuable and interesting, has the features of a scheme which attempts to bend down too many facts to an abstract formula.

Differences of Interests, Democratic Control

From the positions presented here it results that in Polish sociology of the eighties there is a strong trend, especially, though not exclusively, among the authors of the younger generation, to seek new theoretical solutions, because the former ones are considered to be unsatisfactory or even faulty.

The search for the new in science is a valuable thing, yet one must remember that the basic task of science is to search for truth and not to curry favor with fashion.

Some supposedly new theoretical conceptions discussed here are more a manifestation of a political fashion for the most acute criticism of the economic and political socialist relations existing in Poland than a discovery of new scientific truths.

From the point of view of the experiences of the past few years one looks with greater criticism at the achievement of sociology and other social sciences. Such criticism is justified by the fact that a considerable portion of this output is burdened by apologetic ideological theses, and also by the fact that in some cases sociological studies, even when interesting and very carefully carried out, missed the main, particularly controversial social problems. Thus, for example, with regard to the main direction of Polish research on social structure (Prof W. Wesolowski and his collaborators) one can formulate a justified accusation that the fascination with the problems of stratification in the categories of prestige caused the neglect of class analyses, particularly analyses which would show the increase in class conflicts.

However, it would be unjustified to generalize this accusation as concerning the whole of Polish sociology and to assert, as it is often done, that the whole has been blind to the problems of contradictions and conflicts. It is worth returning to older works and to subject them to a just--a critical and objective--evaluation. It will then turn out that not all of Polish sociology bears the responsibility for the negative phenomena in the science of the previous years. What's more, it must be remembered that a part of scientific thought remained in manuscripts prior to 1980 and was formulated only at scientific conferences. This was the result of various interventions, and also of self-censorship. All of this does not mean, however, that the sociological output with regard to the analysis of classes and social stratification in Poland has been sufficient and does not require a revision in some respects.

Such a revision should not, in my opinion, turn against the basic conception of the class-stratification concept, which Polish sociology worked out in the previous years and which remains the most accurate theoretical vision of this structure. In particular, nothing, in my opinion, prompts the revision of the following views:

* The social structure in Poland is a structure of a transitory period, in which there exist divisions carried out from capitalism (but already considerably changed as a result of socialist changes) and divisions shaped in the conditions of socialist building.

* It is a mixed structure, in which there are social classes and strata, and in which classes are recognized as groups distinguished on the basis of their relation to the means of production and their place in the social manner of production defined by this relation. They are the following: the worker class, the peasant class, the class of the petit bourgeoisie, and, in its remnant form, the class of small and medium capitalists. These classes are internally differentiated, and thus we can talk about intraclass stratifications, particularly within the framework of the worker class (skilled and unskilled workers, workers in key industries, workers on state farms, etc.) and within the framework of the peasant class (wealthy, medium and small-farm peasants, members of agricultural production cooperatives). Besides social classes, there exist strata which are not classes, particularly a number of strata into which the intelligentsia has divided itself.

* The situation of class and strata causes a differentiation of class-strata interests and creates a possibility for the appearance of a contradiction of those interests. This creates a particularly significant problem of policy in the conditions of socialist construction, which must take into consideration the real existing differentiation of interests of the classes and strata of the working people, so that the overall result of this harmonization is in accordance with the historical interest of the working class, as the class which does away with the ruling and with class oppression, and creates a classless society of the future.

* In the general analysis of the situation and the interests of social classes and strata, the stratum of the managers of political and economic life occupies a particular position. As other social strata, it has its group interests, which however ought to be subordinated to the interests of the basic social classes, and in particular the worker class. The class significance of democratic control over the apparatus of state power lies in the fact that without such a control, the subordination of the group interest of the political stratum to the general overall interest of the worker class is not possible at all.

The Situation of the "Managerial Stratum"

The last thesis, formulated also before, needs in the light of the most recent experiences to be brought into a more clear relief, but does not require a revision. In particular it is not necessary and does not lead to a more real description of reality, to treat this stratum as if it was a class with interests antagonistic in relation to the worker class and peasant class. If we were to adopt the vision of the class antagonism between the "class of managers" and other social classes, the result would be an impossibility of adopting the interests of the "managers" to the interest of the basic working classes, and by the same token, a structural impossibility of avoiding conflicts and social battles. Yet, the historical experience of other socialist societies contradicts that.

On the other hand, there is a need for a revision of the research perspective, for another hierarchization of problems. To a lesser degree than now, the attention of the researchers ought to be preoccupied with problems carried over from non-Marxist directions of research on social stratification and social mobility, although there is no reason why such research should be abandoned altogether. On the other hand, their attention, to a greater degree than now, ought to be focused on researching the inequality of the class-strata situation, and in particular on the social structure of the poles of wealth and poverty. There is a need for more incisive research on the moneyed classes possessing the means of production--capitalists and petit bourgeois--particularly from the point of view of seeing new mechanisms permitting the rebirth of capitalist relations (or quasi-capitalist ones), and also from the point of view of these relations having an impact on the sphere of state power.

The answer to the theoretical constructions of the "new class of the managers of political and economic power must be not only a polemic, but also a solid analysis of the real position and actions of the stratum of the managers of political and economic life.

In such research there can be no room either for a priori assumptions of the opposition of interests, nor for equally a priori assumptions that the interests of this stratum are always identical with the interests of the worker class, or that they are always subordinated to them, without conflicts. It is in this context that the studies of political institutions and their functioning must to a greater degree than now be directed toward the establishment of the real, and not only declared, class sense of the actions undertaken by these institutions.

A New Sense of the Marxist Category

In the entirety of these problems, studies on the worker class occupy a particular place. Although this is one of the most seriously developed sections of Polish sociology, there are important and not sufficiently researched problems connected with what I called the political geography of this class. The internal divisions of the worker class, which with such force revealed themselves in the eighties, require a sociological analysis. This analysis must reach both into the sphere of the objective situation and objective interests of the worker class and its various components, and to the sphere of the consciousness of this class. Important here is the aspect of the remnants of the former, peasant and not worker conditions of the great part of the contemporary worker class in Poland, accumulated in this consciousness. Also important is the problem of influences effected on this class by other social classes and strata, and by the Catholic Church, whose position in Polish society steps outside the framework of the analysis of class-strata relations alone.

The consequence of the particular, transitory in a historical sense, character of the social structure of the period of building socialism is that the category of class domination--particularly important for the class analysis of the politics--assumes new contents and becomes not quite that which it was in the classic Marxist analyses of capitalist societies.

"In the class domination of the worker class," Julian Hochfeld wrote years ago, "arises, however, a singular contradiction. It is class domination only in so far that the "leading" class retains the superior authority in state power exercised in an alliance with other classes and strata of society and in so far as classes still exist, among them the capitalist class which has not disappeared. It is a class domination also for the reason that it constitutes the highest step in the organization of the worker class as a class. At the same time however... its significance is to create the conditions of "self annihilation." This contradiction can find concrete solutions only in complicated forms of political alliances, in economic unions, in the deepening and expanding democracy, in the systematic democratization and humanization of management of the economy and culture. And only in the perspective of the vision of becoming free of all forms of alienation can we postulate the final solution of this contradiction."

The dialectical look at the social structure in the period of transition from capitalism to socialism assumes the perceiving of contradictions and conflicts. Contradictions and conflicts in societies building socialism are not always of class character, but conflicts with a class basis (or, to say more precisely, class and state basis), play among them a very important role. Writing about these contradictions and conflicts I pointed out once that their solution requires an "effective articulation and representation of the interests of particular factions of the working class and strata, so that their collective force is capable of assuring the establishment of strategic decisions corresponding to the interests of the worker class and the entirety of the working masses," and that the condition of this is "to agree on, and harmonize the interests of the working people," and that the basic forum of this process must be the communist party, whose proper policy in this regard is a necessary condition for the "real exercising by the worker class of the leading function in society" and "solving social problems in the spirit of the socialist ideal."⁸ The experiences of the past few years have strengthened me in this particular view.

FOOTNOTES

1. Nowak, "Property and Power. Towards Non-Marxian Historical Materialism," Dodrecht, 1983. The Polish version of this work was published in 1981 outside of normal circulation.
2. J. T. Hryniewicz, "Metodologiczne aspekty analizy struktury klasowej w Polsce. Stosunki produkcji, władza, klasy społeczne" (Studia Socjologiczne, No 1/8, 1983). Earlier the author proposed a revised definition of social classes which would enable to recognize the "managers of state enterprises" as a separate social class ("Marksowska koncepcja klas społecznych i jej współczesne kontynuacje.") Studia Socjologiczne, No 4/83, 1981.
3. Similarly in K. Gorlach ("Marksistowski model społeczeństwa socjalistycznego. Proba systematyzacji zagadnień," Studia Socjologiczne, No 4/79, 1980).
4. J. Tittenbrun, "Kryzysy w Polsce Ludowej--analiza klasowa." Problemy Marksizmu-Leninizmu, No 1, 1983.
5. Among the more interesting books on this subject one ought to mention a Polish-Hungarian collective work edited by T. Kolosi and E. Wnuk-Lipinski, "Nierówności społeczne w Polsce i na Węgrzech." Wrocław, 1984.
6. In the review of the book by A. Wajda, "Rozwój polityczny klasy robotniczej" (Warsaw, 1983). Studia Socjologiczne, No 3/94. 1984.
7. J. Hochfeld, "Studia o marksowskiej teorii społeczeństwa" in J. Hochfeld, "Marksizm, socjologia, socjalizm." (Warsaw 1982, 624 pp.)

8. J. J. Wiatr, "Przyczynek do zagadnienia rozwoju społecznego w formacji socjalistycznej." Warsaw 1979, 252 pp.

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POLAND

COUNCIL OF HIGHER EDUCATION'S OPINION ON GOVERNMENT DRAFT BILL

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 29-30 Jun 85 p 6

[Text] On June 28, the Council of Higher Education and Science ended a two-day session to sum up its enormous job of evaluating in detail, point by point, four [Government-sponsored] draft bills to be submitted to the Sejm--a draft amendment to the law on higher education, a draft bill on scientific degrees and titles, a draft bill on the office of the Higher Education and Science Minister, and a draft bill on research-and-development organizations.

On the package of the three legislative moves which concern directly the higher education system, the council endorsed after long discussion the opinion that in its draft bill the Government had failed to consider closely enough opinions voiced by the academic communities, that the proposed amendments should be deferred and reduced in their scope. Moreover, the council complained that college rectors were only supplied with the draft bills sent to the Sejm on June 7, which made it impossible to consult the academic communities about their opinions concerning these legislative proposals in time.

The council also remarked on many specific provisions contained in the proposed texts of the bills. The council wanted above all to get the draft bills purged of erroneous provisions. For instance, analyses have disclosed that in some 30 percent of all colleges it would be impossible to create senates in the way stipulated in the proposed laws, namely with a minimum 75 percent composition of professors and assistant professors in these bodies. The draft law names those who are, on the strength of their office (representatives of the administration and of organizations working in colleges), members of college senates. Their number is so great that in small colleges it is simply impossible to find enough professors to make up the required 75 percent of the senate.

The council also calls for the restoration of those provisions enacted in the May 4, 1982 law which specify some degree of college autonomy, guarantee employee rights to academic lecturers (the present draft law, for instance, deprives these people of their right to appeal to the labor courts), or retain disciplinary procedures in their present shape. On this last matter, the council wants punishments to be dispensed exclusively by collective and not single-person bodies, and says a two-stage disciplinary procedure should remain.

The council says the draft law on the Higher Education and Science Minister's office should be rephrased in order to spell out not only the minister's prerogatives towards colleges but also his responsibilities.

Concluding the debates, the council chairman, Professor Roman Ciesielski, called on academic communities to maintain an atmosphere of calmness and prudence while work was in progress on the proposed regulations.

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POLAND

TRADE UNION COUNCIL (OPZZ) MEETS

Warsaw DZIENNIK KUDOWY in Polish 15 Jul 85 p 1

[Text] The Council of the All-Poland Trades Union Alliance (OPZZ) met on July 13. The meeting was attended by PZPR First Secretary and Premier, General Wojciech Jaruzelski, and Vice Premiers Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and Zbigniew Szalajda.

The Council examined the activity of the OPZZ in the seven months since the establishment of the Alliance, agreed on the unions' stand on the Sejm elections and set up voivodship trades union alliances.

A report summing up the Alliance's achievements so far was read by OPZZ chairman Alfred Miodowicz. The chairman said that the unions find the present legislation too constraining and that the Sejm will shortly analyze amendments to the trades union law. However, broader powers will also mean bigger responsibilities. "We are very much interested in the development of worker self-management.

"An especially important matter for the working people are collective agreements, which should be the fundamental act governing labor relations."

Miodowicz said that the new unions considered themselves heirs to the working class protest of 1980. "However, it must be admitted that it is difficult to appraise the implementation of many of the items of the 1980 agreements as Poland's situation has changed dramatically since.

"During the Poznan economic conference," Miodowicz said, "we stressed the necessity of signing a new social contract between the OPZZ and the Government, based on the implementation of the targets of the National Socio-Economic Plan. We presented our position on the proposed variants of the plan for the years 1986-1990 to the Planning Commission.

"In our work," Miodowicz continued, "we pay a great deal of attention to solving the housing question. We present our conclusions to the PZPR Political Bureau.

"We are increasingly alarmed by the state of the environment in some parts of the country and here again we encounter various barriers, impotence and enormous costs. But it must be remembered that next to expensive environmental protection projects, it is also necessary to take up small but no less important undertakings."

Alfred Miodowicz pointed out that the Polish trades union movement was gradually rebuilding its international relations. Its return into the fold of the World Federation of Trade Unions is an important development.

The class trade union movement and its national representation are preparing for participation in the huge political campaign connected with the election of the 9th Sejm of the Polish People's Republic. We view the elections as a great opportunity for our movement. During the campaign, we are going to propose our candidates for deputies.

The OPZZ issued an appeal to all working people urging them to actively participate in the election campaign and to propose as candidates for deputies those union members whose wisdom, experience and integrity will command Poles' trust in decisions of national significance.

In the appeal, the OPZZ Council voiced full support for the electoral declaration of the Patriotic Movement for National Revival.

The appeal also says that the next Sejm should pay special attention to the following matters:

1/ raising the dignity of work, rewarding good work, decent pay, working conditions and moral criteria of evaluation;

2/ efficient management, growth of national income and its just distribution;

3/ improvement of living conditions of working people through the satisfaction of housing needs, health care and environmental protection, a proper pricing policy and controlling of inflation;

4/ modern thinking and action in all areas of life, and in particular the development of workers' inventions;

5/ a systematic growth of pensions;

6/ a comprehensive development of culture, education, sports and tourism among workers. [...]

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POLAND

AUTHORITIES INVESTIGATING 'ILLEGAL PUBLISHING' ACTIVITIES

Illegal Publishing House Closed

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Jun 85 p 2

[Text] The Wroclaw Security Service discovered an illegal publishing house and a distribution center in the city; they found a sophisticated printing press, large quantities of printing paper and leaflets and other antistate publications ready for distribution.

More than ten people were detained and those most active were taken into investigative custody. These include Wieslaw Ch. aged 52, Lucja M. aged 49, Alicja S. aged 38, Marek W. aged 29 and Piotr S. aged 19.

The investigation is in progress.

'Samizdat' Distributor Indicted

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 26 Jun 85 p 2

[Text] The Voivodship Prosecutor Office in Bielsko-Biala has completed an investigation and filed an indictment with the District Court in Wadowice against Wieslaw Pyzio, aged 26.

Wieslaw Pyzio is charged with organizing the distribution of illegal publications in Andrychow and with distributing such publications himself, including leaflets calling for a strike, between January 1984 and June 1985. Pyzio pursued these activities in the hope of creating public unrest.

Earlier, in January 1982, he was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for similar activities, but was reprieved under amnesty.

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YUGOSLAVIA

SUKOVIC DISCUSSES PROBLEMS IN POLITICAL SYSTEM

Belgrade RAD in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jun 85 pp 12-14

[Interview with Dr Mijat Sukovic, vice chairman of the Federal Executive Council, by Zoja Jovanov: "Self-Management Threatened and Irresponsible Self-Management"; date and place not specified]

[Text] For the last 3 years Dr Mijat Sukovic has been vice chairman of the Federal Executive Council, but he has also been taking a very active part as a scientist in the analyses and debates on the functioning of the political system. Of the host of topics on which he is willing to speak, we decided in favor of questions imposed by their urgency. They pertain above all to the delegate system, the foreign exchange law, decisionmaking, statism and responsibility. Unfortunately, we have been able to extract only a small portion for publication from the very interesting 3-hour conversation with staff writers of RAD.

[Question] We first called upon Dr Sukovic to explain to us in some detail what happened in the SFRY Assembly with the draft of the new foreign exchange law offered by the SIV [Federal Executive Council].

[Answer] It is the constitutional right of the assembly of every republic and province not to concur with the content of the draft of a law proposed by the SIV and which is enacted on the basis of unanimity (Dr Mijat Sukovic explained). It also has a right to propose a different content of the draft law and to defend its positions in the SFRY Assembly. There is no problem when we are all sincere and frank and show good faith. Yet a problem does arise when the assembly of one republic or autonomous province transforms or broadens its right to express disagreement with the content of the draft into the right to contest the principle of confrontation with arguments and reconciliation of views. Even then the problem has not fully come to a head. That happens only when others agree not to begin the proceedings for reconciliation of views.

[Question] What was the real reason for blocking the debate on adoption of the foreign exchange system?

[Answer] It is my belief that the proceedings have already begun and that there is no blockade in the sense of frustration of the proceedings. In connection with the debate on the blockade, I would point out the following: in

the news media, but not through the fault of the newsmen, but through erroneous interpretations of the constitution by a certain number of lawyers on the legal staff of the Assembly, the public was misinformed. The constitution states precisely that laws are passed (I emphasize "passed") on the principle of unanimity. Neither in its conception nor in its specific precepts does the constitution extend unanimity to the entire procedure of enactment of a law. Extension of unanimity to the entire procedure, and especially to its first phase--commencement of reconciliation of views--is certainly not in the spirit of the constitution. The constitutional concept is that all the arguments for and against the draft law submitted by the SIV are to come before the delegates of the SFRY Assembly. It is essential that we calmly, conscientiously and with political responsibility bring all this out in the open through a healthy democratic dialogue. I believe that this is in our common interest and that the right solutions can be found even on this occasion. Everyone has a duty to show political willingness and commitment to doing that.

[Question] The SFRY Constitution envisaged that the delegations of the republics and provinces in the SFRY Assembly come to agreement and reconcile their views. One gets the impression, however, that they are rather engaging in negotiation, which is not the same thing.

[Answer] We cannot escape reality. Without a change of the economic structure in the country and without progress in reducing differences in level of development among the republics and autonomous provinces it is not possible to permanently liquidate the existence of differing interests. Nor is it possible at the level of the Federation to provide a synthesis between the nationality aspect and the class aspect, regardless of possible organizational changes which would contribute to that unless unity of the nationality aspect and the class aspect is guaranteed in every republic and autonomous province. And that is not possible unless the present relative political independence of the top leadership of the republics and autonomous provinces is overcome.

[Question] Do we now have the climate for assessing the economic structure in the right way, or is that only our distant goal?

[Answer] The economic problems which have accumulated provide a strong compulsion to create such a climate. The initial results have been achieved, but they are small. There also exist objective obstacles to changing the economic structure. Some are related to treatment of the character of social ownership. Social ownership is treated as though everything should be preserved, that business losses should be covered to the last ounce of strength. Assuming the orientation to preserve everything, assuming the low level of internal capital generation and the scant opportunities to use foreign capital, it is not possible to change the economic structure. I want to emphasize that in no way should social ownership be separated from the political system; this mistake is made mainly by lawyers who see only the organizational forms of society.

[Question] In view of a number of problems, will there be any change in relations between the federal and republic authorities in enforcing federal legislation?

[Answer] The normative changes have begun. But first of all there must be a change in the political situation related to them. In the republics and autonomous provinces the political conviction still prevails that the taking of steps and performance of activities by federal authorities to enforce federal legislation signifies establishment of hierarchical relations, setting up the federal authorities as superior to the authorities of the republics and autonomous provinces. On the other hand within federal authorities, again as a political relationship, the prevailing orientation is to restrain from taking the measures envisaged by the constitution and law in order to enforce federal laws in the republics and autonomous provinces. They find justification for this in the demonstrated political disposition in the republics and autonomous provinces. But in essence we are dealing with opportunism, a reluctance to come into conflict with the prevailing political view in the republics and autonomous provinces. All of this is bound up with human weakness; why should I do anything when I can get by without doing anything? So, in spite of the numerous demands, from the political standpoint the situation has not improved, the battle is not being waged.

There is no danger that the constitutionally defined activity of federal authorities in order to enforce federal legislation would transform those authorities into bureaucratic and centralistic institutions. There is likewise no danger of infringing upon the independence of the republics and autonomous provinces defined by the constitution if federal legislation is enforced more consistently. Ultimately there is no unity of Yugoslavia nor uniform rights and duties unless laws are enforced equally in all the republics and autonomous provinces.

[Question] How true is the assessment that the government has narrowed the room for self-management, that government interventionism is becoming stronger, that there has been an escalation of statism?

[Answer] It is a correct assessment that government interventionism has been strengthened. This is a great danger for society's future development, for the production relation, for self-management. But government interventionism has not grown out of the desire of the officials whose function it is to intervene in economic relations. Nor does the cause of this interventionism lie in economic difficulties. They are also a product of something deeper. I firmly believe that the primary cause lies in property relations, the way they have been established in society. In today's reality the relations of social ownership do not prevail, but rather those of group ownership. They are in permanent conflict with the relations of polycentric government ownership. Until a truly joint development policy for the country is devised and until a unified strategy of technological development is furnished, providing direction for unification of scientific research programs, the struggle will continue between these two forms of property relations, a struggle in which the relations of social ownership will always be pushed aside.

The second source of the intensified government interventionism lies in the fact that the integrative component has been squeezed out of self-management as it is practiced. The constitution has stated that every entity in self-management is independent, but nowhere does the original concept of

self-management state that that independence has the attributes of standing apart from the whole. The independence of entities in self-management is very pronounced in practice. In every social community there are now many powerful entities, and the community is not able to overcome either them or autarky.

At this moment we have no other mechanism than the government to express in some fashion the entirety of the social community. Self-management must also defend itself from irresponsible self-management and from irresponsible self-managers, and not only from statism. Since that battle is not taking place, it is almost natural that government interventionism should arise.

The third cause lies in the LCY's lack of unity in action. Even the ideology of the League of Communists is no longer completely pure. It is united, for example, in the demand for developing and strengthening self-management. But it is not united in the answer to the question: How is self-management to develop in the future? I think that there is no self-management without economic integration of Yugoslavia consistent with self-management. Those are just pipe dreams that we will develop self-management merely by strengthening the rights of the workers in OOUR's [basic organization of associated labor]. After all, in the context of autarky, that does not automatically lead to a strengthening of the position of the working class in society.

[Question] Has statism to some extent also turned the sociopolitical organizations onto a different track?

[Answer] It could not be otherwise. When government interventionism is spreading, it is natural for sociopolitical organizations to switch to that track. They cannot say that someone has shunted them there without their participation. Nor did any force outside thrust them on that track. They are aware that this is happening, they are involved, or they at least have given their consent. They are also a part of the political system. They also are responsible for the totality of the situation and relations, which means that they are also responsible for the track they are on. However, a very large political distinction needs to be made between the broader powers of the state and statism as a social relation.

[Question] So, in the strengthening of government interventionism do you also recognize the SIV and yourself as its vice chairman?

[Answer] In the criticism to the effect that the powers of the government are being broadened I naturally recognize the criticism addressed to the Federal Executive Council. The powers of the government are spreading through its activity. But also bear in mind the circumstances under which this is taking place. For example, the SFRY Assembly has passed laws requiring the SIV to issue sublegal acts to deal with many material relations in society. This directly places the SIV in a position of acting so as to broaden the powers of the government. And indeed the powers of its narrowest part.

Always when the SIV is exploring its function as a substitute participant, that is when it must make decisions for those who should have made them, but did not, the bodies of self-management and the delegate bodies in general, or

associated labor as a whole, the power of the government is broadened. The question is whether this is always well-measured or not, but in the given situation this seems necessary. As vice chairman I am an integral part of the SIV, and I cannot do otherwise than to behave as the SIV is behaving.

Today there is a general social orientation to turn the SIV, the executive arm of the SFRY Assembly, into a kind of government of society as a whole, with a corresponding degree of responsibility. Indeed even the bodies of the party and the trade unions and the Socialist Alliance have placed themselves in a position of being dependent upon the SIV in the realm of their action and activity. Instead of conducting debates and setting forth political platforms which the SIV will carry out, they do not even prepare working papers without the SIV. This is changing the position of the Federal Executive Council, and we have reacted to this in public, in the SFRY Assembly and also in the LCY Central Committee.

[Question] There is a great deal of talk about democratization of the delegate system, especially the electoral system, but in general terms. Where specifically, in your opinion, should democratization of the delegate system begin, what should it consist of?

[Answer] The basic problem in democratization of our society is that the delegate system, and in particular the assembly system, has become utterly devoid of content. Decisions on all essential questions are actually worked out outside delegate bodies and are presented as a finished product to the delegate assemblies, where they are only verified through more or less democratic debate which does not essentially alter what has been decided already.

That is, there is a line of decisionmaking which does not start with the workers, the delegations, the delegate assemblies, but with the professional staff and professional managers in the OOUR, in the banks, in the SIZ's [self-managing community of interest] and political executive bodies and administrative agencies in the republics and autonomous provinces, and all the way up to the Federation. This is in fact least pronounced in the Federation. That line of decisionmaking is not constitutional, nor is it lawful, nor has it been politically accepted, but it is the prevailing one. That is also the way it will continue to be so long as the executive and administrative structures and staff services have the material basis for that kind of decisionmaking. No longer is this the case in the funds of sociopolitical communities or in independent funds of banks, but now it is throughout the entirety of the banking system and the credit and monetary system.

So long as the working people obtain two-thirds of resources for expanded reproduction from outside, this line of decisionmaking will be dominant. There has to be a change in the economic system and in the sphere of expanded reproduction, and the entire banking system and mechanism, the credit and monetary system, and the mechanism for note issue must be the first areas affected. This has to be done in order to create a real foundation for associated labor to become the ruling factor in society and for the delegate system to assume the function which it has under the constitution. Only the League of Communists can be the initiator and driving force behind this, which is what I

would call a true revolutionary movement of change. Only headed by the League of Communists can those changes be brought about. The key to change lies in its hands, because in every collective, in every community, groups of office-holders are created which have many attributes of political oligarchies. They decide about practically everything, or they impose decisions through their attitudes, their activity and their influence. At the core of these groups are either the professional officerholders in the LC or distinguished members of the LC to whom government, professional management or other positions have been entrusted. The League of Communists has a very uncritical attitude toward the work and abilities of those who hold these positions.

The basic problem in society is that decisionmaking has been very greatly bureaucratized. It is a fact that there is no true political life in society even though there is quite a bit of talk and exchange of fire. Bureaucratization of both the delegate system and its top levels has also occurred. This has to be broken up.

[Question] The workers' councils are regarded as the backbone of worker self-management both in theory and practice. Has the formation of the delegation in the OOUR created a parallel channel for decisionmaking?

[Answer] I agree very much with the first sentence. I consider the tendency to reduce the role of the workers' councils on behalf of caucuses and referenda contrary to the idea of self-management and the constitutional arrangements. I think that there has not been enough public emphasis on the revolutionary change in the character of the workers' council that took place in 1974. The entire system of information is turned toward the executive bodies, the assemblies. It seems that that is how it must be, since those are the centers of decisionmaking. The system of information, especially the house organs, should be turned toward the workers' councils and delegations.

I do not agree at all with the content of the second sentence in the question. In its ideological and constitutional concept, the delegation and the workers' council are not bodies set against one another in their work, their action, their ideas or other tendencies, nor should they be involved in a parallel effort. However, experience has imposed precisely that. They have to cooperate.

The problem is that the prestige of the delegations has been destroyed. There are a large number of delegations. Some of them should never even have been formed. I say that the intention of the constitution was never to elect delegations for the assemblies of self-managing communities of interest, neither in social services nor in material production. In practice this is going in the opposite direction. This has been derived from policy commitments, not from a professional analysis of the constitutional text. These delegations have been introduced by force of law. I think we have become aware that those laws should be repealed, the delegations for assemblies of SIZ's should be dissolved, and we should state that the workers' councils must perform those functions. This follows from the fact that in the assemblies of communities of interest decisions are always made about income and that the workers' council is that form of organization of the working class which is supposed to decide on resources for community social needs.

The nature of relations is quite different and there are other needs when decisions are being made in the assemblies of sociopolitical communities. In them decisions are made about problems which have broader social importance, political issues are dominant in the subject matter, and it is not the function of the workers' councils to make direct decisions on these matters. The nature of the council is such that the socialist alliance and trade unions can become part of their work, in the manner in which they are to be included in the delegate system.

[Question] One of the objections to the functioning of the political system is that the citizen does not have political status as an individual--he can articulate his interests only as a member of "his own" community. How much truth is there in that?

[Answer] That is the actual situation, but there are important possibilities for changing it. If the Socialist Alliance were what it is supposed to be under the constitution, those possibilities would be very much greater. If, for instance, it were to operate in the local community the way that is defined in the constitution. I see the main problem in that our political life has died out, in that there is an inappropriate attitude toward individual expression. The creation of more institutions, more new organizational forms, would not in and of itself resolve that problem. To repeat, the main thing that has to be solved is economic integration of Yugoslavia through self-management. Otherwise there is no socioeconomic foundation for building Yugoslavia as a community in which it would be possible for the workingman as an individual to be expressed in federal relations through political forms of organization and through self-management forms.

[Question] Responsibility for political and economic decisions has not been tightened to the extent demanded by members of the LCY in the public debate of the proposed version of the conclusions of the 13th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee. Is it that the mechanisms do not exist for that, or is it difficult to set them in motion, or is there something else involved?

[Answer] I accept the observation. Mechanisms for strengthening responsibility do exist. Even if they were less than what they are at present, it would be possible to tighten responsibility with them. So, it is something else which is involved. And I am convinced that that is the lack of commitment to tightening responsibility. That is the true political explanation.

For decades the direction in society has been not to honor economic laws when decisions are made. I emphasize, when decisions are made, since I do not share the opinion expressed in many political documents that it is only at this point that we should create the conditions for the stronger operation of economic laws. They have been operating strongly even in the past. But they have not been respected when decisions are made, and many economic and political decisions have followed from that kind of orientation. Indeed even development plans. It is difficult to single out individual and personal responsibility in that context. That kind of social orientation has resulted in a tangle of responsibility of several entities, in the banks, in organizations of associated labor, in the government structure, in the LC and everywhere.

Indeed there is hardly any decision which does not involve pulling that entire chain. That is why there is no resolute social orientation toward tightening responsibility.

[Question] How, then, is one to initiate the process of achieving responsibility of those responsible?

[Answer] First of all, we need to do away with our overall opportunism, especially in bodies of leadership, and the opportunism of leaders. The problem is how to do it? In an ideological confusion in which it is possible for many things to exist legally and for everything to be on the same plane, when no determination is made as to whose attitude has a stronger point of support in the ideology of Marxism-Leninism, in the concept of self-management and in the ethics of society--there is not sufficient support for a decision that would impose responsibility. It is not easy to untie that knot and to tick off with a pencil: first we will do this, then this. The knot must be cut by a broad front, ideological, political and legislative. I say that the main question is always whether we want to or not. And if history were to judge our present actions, and judge them it certainly will, and if we do not resolve this dilemma before the party congresses and immediately thereafter, then history will not be able to make the assessment that we were not able, or that we did not know--but the judgment will hang upon whether we wanted to and why we didn't want to.

[Box, p 12]

Those at the Top, and Those Around Them

One of the questions put to Dr Mijat Sukovic was this: What are the prospects for greater influence of the basic constituency in the next elections?

"I can only answer that question with an estimate," said the vice chairman of SIV, "since I do not have all the facts essential to making an assessment. Second, both the circumstances and the orientation may change in the meantime. And third, all of this depends more on specific action in each community than on commitments as to principle.

"With those reservations I can say where I judge there will be changes in the way people are elected to office in the coming period. First of all, more people will be included in the debate on this, but I am not certain that there will no longer be cases, even very frequent ones, where a set of circumstances determines the nominee rather than his ability and knowledge. I hope that the basic constituency will have more of an impact, but I would not dare to be excessively optimistic. That is, all of the leadership structures, from the OOUR to the Federation, have a certain number of officeholders and a number of people around them. Those around them by and large have the same mentality and the same conception of doing things. It is in their interest to take advantage of the changes which are inevitable in the makeup of personnel so that they move up to the top. They are more or less well known as political activists and they have something that will go to their credit in the communities that will decide in the next elections. At the same time, they have the

support of the people who are now the most influential, and there is a real possibility that the top people in the future will mainly come from those structures. And that would not be a real change."

[Box, p 13]

Work Security, Not Job Security

Job security is one of the basic achievements of the struggle of the working class. Do the demands for shaking that security include attempts by the technocracy to make its workers "obedient"?

"I believe that job security and employment security are not what the struggle of the working class achieved, but rather work security. And that is not the same thing. Out of a desire to protect the workers and thereby also a socialistically humane social relation, we have put so much armor around the job and employment relation that we made it impossible for the workers to get rid of idleness and idlers in a democratic way. The same wrong direction has also been given by courts of associated labor and defenders of self-management law, who protect only the right, but not the obligations of the employed worker. That is why work, enthusiasm, workmanship and work performance cannot make themselves felt sufficiently. I am therefore convinced that job security, employment security and the security of a particular position must be shaken, but also that all of this must be guaranteed to those who have been performing their work duties successfully, on time and competently.

"But I do not doubt that some of the technobureaucrats would attempt to take advantage of the opportunity to silence the workers if in the future the job is not completely secure. But it is also possible to set up barriers. The law should guarantee three things: that those holding management positions cannot decide about hiring, firing and punishment of workers. To use Engels' words, this means that individuals should be prevented from managing people."

[Box, p 14]

The Trade Union Cannot Slough Off Its Skin

We asked Dr Sukovic to evaluate whether the contribution of the federal authorities of the Trade Union Federation had made a contribution in proportion to their authority in formulating a number of measures which the SIV adopts or proposes.

Our interviewee said that we in the building of the Council of the Federation of Yugoslav Trade Unions know this better than he, but, as a member of the organization of the Trade Union Federation, he did express his opinion:

"Neither the trade union as an organization, nor the bodies of the Trade Union Federation can slough off their skin. Under the social and economic conditions that exist today it is not possible for the trade union organization to act as it would have to in a system of socialist self-management. For me the trade union is a class organization, a political organization--and everything

that is written in its bylaws, which has its primary role of merging the parts of the working class into a single entity and operating in the political system with the strength of the entirety of the working class. I think that so long as there is disunity in the League of Communists, the trade union will not be able to perform that most important function which it has.

"Second, at a time when the delegate system is not functioning and when decisionmaking takes place outside its institutions, the trade union organization cannot objectively bring together the parts of the working class to form a whole in the process of decisionmaking. And third, at a time when problems are being resolved in summary fashion, when it is not possible to carry on a dialogue which would involve experts, scientists and other entities, it is not possible for the bodies of the Trade Union Federation to find their place either, nor to contribute as much as they could on the basis of their class orientation and their position in the system. In other words, I think that it is not possible for them to slough off that skin, but that does not mean that under those conditions everyone, including the trade union, cannot do more work and better work. Let us not defend ourselves, none of us is doing what he must and can. No one."

7045

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YUGOSLAVIA

MARTINOVIC CASE CREATES INSECURITY IN GNJILANE

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 9 May 85 p 4

[Article by Dj. Lazic]

[Text] Regarding the events connected to Djordje Martinovic, a 56 year old worker at the Yugoslav National Army House in Gnjlane, which occurred on the afternoon of 1 May on his field near Gnjlane, an expanded meeting was held last night of the Presidency of the Commune Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Gnjlane. Also in attendance at this meeting were the following representatives of socio-political organizations in the province (members of the working group): Avdi Bakali, Bajram Selimi and Aleksandar Peric. The official report of the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the District Court in Gnjlane was read at the meeting; among other things, it said that Djordje Martinovic committed this shameful act alone and "that he was in a state of serious psychological depression when he said that he had been attacked by two youths of Albanian nationality in order to cover up the truth."

Most of the participants in last night's discussion accorded special recognition to the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Gnjlane and to the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs, which relatively quickly got to the bottom of the case.

"We worked around the clock. The service did all it could to gather real proof. Today we were assisted by organs of the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and we arrived at the truth. Some say that the rumor going around in the public was created by the press. The reporters are not guilty, they acted on the statements made by the victim and his family. I have, however, heard comments that attempts were made to force a confession from the victim, but we take responsibility for what we have told the public," said Halit Redzeqi, Secretary of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of Gnjlane, at last night's meeting.

According to the majority of participants in the discussion, the event itself caused a great deal of turmoil among all honest citizens in the population. However, in both the report issued last night on this subject by the Presidency of the Commune Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of

Gnjilane and in the discussions, a special appeal was made to all the working people and residents of Gnjilane to not permit Albanian nationalists and irredentists as well as Serbian nationalists to use Djordje Martinovic's act for their own questionable ends.

Meeting of the Political Action Group of Gnjilane

The events that took place on 1 May in Gnjilane have dealt a heavy blow to the political security situation in this commune. In order to stabilize the state of political security and to uncover the truth about the Djordje Martinovic case, discussions were organized in local communities. A meeting was held today by the Political Action Group of Gnjilane at which the report of the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the District Court of Gnjilane was read; this report was published today in the mass media, as was the report issued at last night's meeting by the Presidency of the Commune Committee of the Socialist Alliance of the Working People of Gnjilane. In order to avoid different interpretations, we must openly say what the case was about, just as it was recorded in the reports given on the basis of the analyses made, the testimonies given, and the examination of Martinovic.

It was stated that some opinions were expressed last night that the victim was forced to confess, and the report given by the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs and the District Court of Gnjilane was not accepted in the village of Parges. It was decided that activities and discussions should be continued in all local communities, but that they should not be limited only to the Martinovic case.

2661

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YUGOSLAVIA

WORK OF PRISTINA SECRETARIAT FOR INTERNAL AFFAIRS DISCUSSED

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 11 May 85 p 7

[Article by N. Vlahovic]

[Text] Over the last few years the Kosovo Security Service has recorded a radical improvement in terms of personnel and equipment. A typical illustration of this progress is the Secretariat for Internal Affairs of the Pristina Commune. On the average, the policemen working in the commune today are 22 years of age, have completed secondary professional training (most frequently, the School for Internal Affairs), and enjoy far better working conditions than those which prevailed prior to the counterrevolutionary events of 1981. Thanks to the enthusiastic support of the Provincial Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the Pristina Commune Assembly, and large work organizations, existing police stations have been renovated and new ones have been built and equipped with up-to-date technical resources. Along with this, much attention has been focused on the ideological-political improvement and motivation of security service personnel, and therefore it is no accident that there are fewer and fewer public acts of hostility and violations of law and order. Last year, as high as 72 per cent of unknown perpetrators of criminal acts were apprehended.

Of the many organizational units of the Pristina Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the most successful is the Department for Crime Prevention headed by Radojko Doknic. This department also works on crime prevention in the neighboring communes of Podujevo, Lipljan and Glogovac, for which separate records and analyses are kept in the Center. Otherwise, the regional communes independently carry out all assignments for maintaining law and order.

According to Secretary Sadri Godanci, the present structure of the Pristina Secretariat for Internal Affairs is not a secret. In addition to seven police stations and four police units, independent units are effectively operating for communications, travel documents, registration of foreigners, vital statistics and joint affairs services.

"During the counterrevolutionary events of 1981, it was evident that these services had received only little attention, and this is why its material and personnel improvement was undertaken in accordance with the needs of the greater area of Pristina, the capital city, which numbers about 400,000

residents. I must say that this was not done under pressure, although there are those who would like to present the assertedly enormous increase in number of employees of the Secretariat for Internal Affairs as being very difficult to maintain," said Godanci, the Commune Secretary for Internal Affairs.

Godanci states that much has been done to improve professional standards. Education, training for policemen, constant assistance by the Commune Secretariat for Internal Affairs, and the experience gained by working with other police units that were here to help have aided the Pristina security organs in working independently and effectively on combating all forms of hostility and criminal acts. The more capable personnel are sent each year for full-time schooling at the University Department for Security or to a junior college for internal affairs, and those who exhibit outstanding achievement at these schools after their first year are automatically permitted to continue their full-time education at the expense of the Secretariat.

The level of technical equipment is now very good, making possible both efficient regular operations as well as special operations under extraordinary conditions. The Criminal-Technical Department is functioning so well that it is undoubtedly one of the best-equipped in the province and further afield.

Civil Law and Order Now More Stable Than in Earlier Years

In speaking of the state of security in the commune, the Secretary of the Pristina Secretariat for Internal Affairs stressed that this also determined the overall state of security in the province. At present, this is much improved but irredentists continue trying to maintain the continuity of hostile acts. However, those who write slogans and pamphlets are being more rapidly discovered and their number is constantly decreasing (in 1984, 85 slogans were written regarding Albanian nationalism, mostly demanding that Kosovo become a republic, while there were five praising Rankovic and insulting the national feelings of Albanians).

Civil law and order is incomparably more stable now than it was in earlier years. For example, Godanci says that about one million residents of the Pristina Commune participated in numerous events last year and this year, and that only one nationalistic attack, at a soccer game, was recorded. A cause for concern is the increased individual activity of nationalists which, for the most part, is reflected in the singing of nationalistic songs in both languages. A new turn of events is that, along with the continued activities of the Albanian irredentists, there has been a stronger awakening of the spirit of Serbs and Montenegrins. They are particularly exploiting the cost of migrating [sic], manipulating data on the number of persons relocating, and this only serves to encourage further migration.

With regard to direct pressures, Godanci says that there are fewer assaults on members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationalities, and that of them only one drastic case was recorded last year where there was an obvious attempt to force a Serbian family to migrate. Otherwise, disturbances and inter-nationality

conflicts also exist in work organizations, but most of them are not nationalistically inspired and disagreements result from living and working together. It should be mentioned that all homicides and attempted homicides last year were committed against persons of the same nationality as the perpetrators.

Return of Confidence

"Recently there has been an evident tendency to present provocateurs of all kinds and 'singers' of nationalistic songs, both Albanian and Serbian, as being notorious alcoholics or unstable people, and sometimes the intention is obvious. How, for example, can validity be given to an official statement that a student who had recently run through the student dorms trying to incite other students is mentally ill (she had gathered some medical findings to support this) when she had completed her studies a year ahead of time with an average grade of 9.25?"

The increased activity of the security service in combating hostile activities is gradually regaining confidence in the internal affairs organs of the province. However, says Godanci, although the situation is far better now than it was a year or two ago, this service has still not achieved satisfactory results because migration from the Pristina Commune is still the highest in the province. Regarding the security service, says the Commune Secretary for Internal Affairs, it is undertaking all measures, along with coordinating political action, to completely normalize the political security situation and to win back the shaken confidence of all the nations and nationalities living in the Pristina Commune.

2661

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YUGOSLAVIA

SOCIOLOGIST DISCUSSES UNEMPLOYMENT, LABOR PROBLEMS IN CROATIA

[Editorial Report] In an interview published in the 13-14 July 1985 issue of BORBA (Belgrade, p 9), Mladen Zuvela, member of the Croatian LC Presidium, also industrial sociologist and instructor at the economics faculty in Split, confirmed that strikes are increasing both in number and in the number of participants, noting also the prevalence of absenteeism, avoidance of work and self-management obligations, low motivation, lateness and carelessness at work, and the priority of after-hours jobs which reduces workers' link to the socialized sector. He deplored Yugoslavia's lag in automation and technology, expressing the view that there were relatively more graduate engineers and technicians in 1965 than there are today at a result of the orientation toward importing complete technology and "in this way pushing our cadres out of decision-making regarding what will be imported, developed, and what technology applied. This, in part, stopped the development of some vital functions in the work process." He noted also the average specialized capability "coefficient" for those employed in economic planning services was below that of a skilled worker. "Yet these are the people who are supposed to be the bearers of change, have a vision of the future, and postulate concrete solutions."

In addition, he noted, "there has been a constant erosion of production workers in the 30-40-year-old age group, a million of whom have been lost through emigration abroad. This emigration, as well as displacement through moving these workers to other [largely, administrative] sectors, has resulted in a discontinuity or interruption in the natural connection between the work generations, and in the loss of that age group which would link youth to experience and from which we could draw those workers with initiative, etc."

This, as well as the obvious negative effects of the economic crisis, has also had a detrimental effect on work values or the traditional view that young people should strive to build the reputation of being good workers, of learning to work with others, etc. "We know that the values and motivation for work have been eroding. The most important agents of this social [motivation] remain the family and school, but also all organized groups, from one's friends to the Army, even if you like, the church.... But unemployment is undermining these long-term goals. On the one hand, we say that one must build in young people the reputation of being good workers; on the other hand, we do not give them work." Zuvela said the significance of unemployment goes beyond the statistics, in its destructive effect on man and society.

More than one-half of the unemployed in Croatia are in the Split and Osijek opstinas and affect the children of workers and farmers, but especially workers, and also the children of military personnel. "The fact that there is a shortage of some workers and at the same time young people who have no hope of being employed...shows the need to restructure production and change the basis for planning development. The core of the unemployed in Split Opstina, for instance, he said consists of young women with an average of 11 years of schooling. They are faced with "male-oriented" industries such as cement plants, construction enterprises, and shipyards. Industries which need to be developed here, he said, are the electro-technical, pharmaceutical, biochemical, modern food processing, and metal processing industries.

He pointed to two initiatives which have been taken toward dealing with unemployment: in Osijek where money has been collected from enterprise contributions [doprinosi] to create jobs; and in Split where young unemployed engineers in cooperation with the "Ivo Lola Ribar" enterprise in Belgrade are developing computer programs. "This latter effort should be strongly supported and not debated as to whether this is within the system or not. Everything is within the system which leads to solving the problems!" Such efforts, he said, break the rigidity of some of our industries. "Action should also be taken against the 12 enterprises in the republic which have not hired anyone for 10 years."

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YUGOSLAVIA

CHURCH, WEAK PARTY BLAMED FOR HOSTILE ACTION OF YOUTH

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jul 85 p 2

[Summary] In Split the trial of a group of seven young people accused of hostile action is drawing to a close. That which this trial has clearly shown through the indictment and evidence is the link between nationalism and clericalism.

The accused include Stjepan Gaspar, electrician employed at the military printing enterprise, Josip Vrdoljak, electrician at the "Elektrodalmacija," Zeljko Duvnjak, graduate of the Split Law Faculty, Marko Saric, shipyard worker, Mladen Lazeta, agricultural technician, Ivan Buljan, economist, and Luka Podrug, lawyer.

While it cannot be said that there was an organized group, there is a basis for concluding that efforts for a strengthened organization, nevertheless, existed.

The group exhibited a nationalist relation toward our socialist society, spread nationalist hatred through the well-known thesis about Serbia's plundering of Croatia, they expressed disdain for the Yugoslav People's Army, they tendentiously and falsely presented the conditions in our country, praised the Croatian "mass movement", Ustashe leaders, war criminals, and murderers from Pavelic to Artukovic, and praised Aloysius Stepinac as protector and saint.

They also engaged in "everyday actions" from support for a multi-party system to slandering the personality of Comrade Tito.

The accusations are serious. It is a question of young people of differing social status and education living in Split, although they are not from Split. That which is especially noticeable is the fact that they met at religious instruction, where they discussed politics instead of religious subjects and were indoctrinated, seeking like-minded persons who had to be "good workers, believers, and Croats."

These young people will get the penalty they deserve. But we have the impression that the trial warrants much more attention. Above all, the LC must be much concerned about nationalist occurrences and uproot them, so

that through repressive measures the enemies of society are checked before they take root because with this trial the sources and basis of dangerous occurrences will not be eliminated.

Members of the Catholic clergy have indoctrinated young people in nationalism and the church has been publicly unmasked through the statements of its believers.

Indeed, it is strange that those who have known nothing about the Independent State of Croatia can swear by Artukovic and Budak, and that which they have learned is not drawn from a scientific base but from a nationalist one, from the repertoire of those who have sunk into hatred toward our country.

In connection with this and similar cases Dr Srdjan Vrcan noted a few days ago that we urge youth toward activity but as a society, we do not want a too active youth. So when an action by young people spreads, then we act to restrict it. We avoid supporting young people in their strivings--all sorts of reasons are sought as pretexts to suppress activity.

The LC in Dalmatia has precise views and concrete conclusions regarding nationalism. Young people are only exponents of some dark forces which--exploiting our economic and other misfortunes and the problems of youth employment and social security--are fishing in muddy waters....

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YUGOSLAVIA

BELGRADE-SPLIT COOPERATE IN FORMING YOUTH FACTORY

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17 Jul 85 p 2

[Excerpts] Beginning in September computers which the "Ivo Lola Ribar" enterprise in Belgrade produces will be programmed in the youth factory in Split. The road to this...has been a thorny one filled with lack of understanding and conflict situations. But persistence has prevailed. The persistence of the young people in Split supported by the "Ivo Lola Ribar" industry again confirms that economic interest cannot have regional interests and does not recognize boundaries.

The initiative was taken 2 years ago at the electro-technical and machine faculty in Split. Faculty professors were first to say this was a matter which the faculty training program does not need, then some city "structures" created tension, then numerous meetings were held, plans written up, evidence given, and calculations made. It seems significant to us...that with this fine example we have stopped the pessimistic observations about encapsulation within republics and narrow regional interests. Here is a case of building a bridge of friendship between Split and Belgrade which up to now has been based on cultural and sports events, but rarely on economic interest.

...The factory is also intended as a social and educational organization of youth. Income in itself is not the purpose, since this factory will be oriented toward educational courses in electronics and data processing. The engineers in Split have already been taking courses for 6 months in Belgrade.

Vlado Matijasic, president of the youth organization of Croatia, said that although this example will not solve the employment problem, it can stimulate young people to stop waiting for others to solve employment problem.

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YUGOSLAVIA

SOCIOLOGIST VRKAN DISCUSSES DISCONTENTED YOUTH, NATIONALISM

[Editorial Report] Srdjan Vrcan, sociology professor at the University of Split and publisher of numerous youth studies and surveys, in the first of a series of articles on nationalism published in the 9 July 1985 issue of the Zagreb weekly DANAS (pp 7-9) notes that this is the first generation of young people since World War II who do not have better material opportunities and expectations than the generation before them. Moreover, this is the first generation which has not been "the largest user of all the achievements of postwar socialist development, but on the contrary, this generation must pay the price and sacrifice for that which they were not responsible for... They did not share in distribution of the benefits which in some way also led us into this crisis, did not have a share of the pie," but they are having to pay the price for it.

"As a result, there is a latent dissatisfaction among youth which is perhaps not yet articulated, is more diffuse, but is expressed in very different social, cultural, and political ways." Alluding to nationalist incidents among youth in Split, he said dissatisfaction and increased nationalism is not confined to Split, but a number of indicators show that the situation in Dalmatia is objectively more difficult than in some other parts. In the number of unemployed, for instance, the Dalmatian area has become somewhat more burdened by negative tendencies arising from the generally negative situation than some other [areas], and it is a region where dissatisfaction is growing."

But he said that the incidents in Split have been blown out of proportion and been given a fateful nationalist interpretation that is unwarranted ("Young people sign freedom songs to irritate the police"). He expressed doubts about those who see "dark forces" behind every such incident, or a conspiracy led by the CIA, KGB, the Third International, or defeated forces." Even if this were the case, he rhetorically asked whether such forces created this dissatisfaction or whether they are not simply exploiting it. It is easier to point the finger at others, he said, than to stimulate action toward improving conditions.

In secondary and university-level schools he said that the percentage of party members has fallen from 15-20 percent to 4-5 percent of the student body. Also, in comparing his 1967 study of students in Split with the results of a 1984 study, he concluded that certain changes have appeared in regard to the left and right extremist minorities: the extremists who "exhibit the

clerical nationalist syndrome are increasing somewhat, although it is still a definite minority, even less than the leftist minority, but compared to 17 years ago the rightists are increasing and the leftists decreasing." The other important change is that the leftists have fallen to a very low level of activity, while the rightists are becoming more activist, better informed, and more homogeneous or consolidated.

Vrcan said that during the student demonstrations of 1968 he had predicted the revival of nationalism which then occurred in 1971, largely because the causes of dissatisfaction were never addressed. Today, he said, the most obvious manifestation among youth is their alienation from "that which functions as the systemic mechanism. This alienation or distancing, he said will spread to a mass level, deepen, and become an explosive charge of dissatisfaction. "I see no turning-point in the near future. The rightist tendencies will not disappear, they can only change their form of manifestation, their public expression can be suppressed, but they will remain in the body of society...."

In regard to the leftist extreme, he said there are new tendencies operating in the belief that there can be a renaissance of the Communist youth movement, a return to the model of the classic Komsomol from the 1920's.... "I tend to see such efforts as a symptom of agony rather than mark of a true renewal, because such attempts cannot attract a wide following...."

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YUGOSLAVIA

CATHOLIC WEEKLY REPORTS HARASSMENT OF PRIESTS, INADEQUATE FACILITIES

[Editorial Report] In an article titled, "Why Is a Catholic Priest Not Permitter That Which the Law Guarantees?", the 30 June 1985 issue of the Zagreb Catholic weekly GLAS KONCILA (page 3) reports that a priest from a parish near Zrenjanin in Vojvodina, while blessing the homes of Catholic families in the parish, was taken into custody by three policemen on 7 February 1985, searched and questioned for several hours because he was allegedly performing a religious rite without a permit. After noting that the religious publications which he had with him (Hungarian and Croatian language calendars, and other religious material published in Yugoslavia) were confiscated and had not yet been returned to him, the article cited the Vojvodina law that allows such services to be performed without applying to the opstina for a permit.

The 7 July issue (page 2) quotes without comment the 17 June VJESNIK (Zagreb) report that Catholic priest Ivan Ujevic was sentenced by the Split district court to 6 months in prison for slandering Comrade Tito. It also reported that a priest Ivan Kozjak from a parish near Cakovec in Croatia just served a 3-day sentence pronounced last October for taking his First Communion class from the parish house across the street to the parish church without a permit.

An editorial in the 30 June issue (page 2), noting VJESNIK's criticism of religious services being held in private dwellings in New Zagreb says this occurs "in many new sections of our cities" where there are inadequate church facilities and so the apartments of priests or apartments purchased by newly formed parish communities are used. "Hundreds and hundreds of believers gather for mass each Sunday in these small rooms. In many of these places several masses are given on Sunday, yet this is still not adequate for the many who want to participate. Through the week numerous religion classes for thousands of participants are held. Priests try not to disturb the neighbors, but there are some who do not like all this.... It is therefore a justifiable concern of both the church and the community that space for church buildings be made available."

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END